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BRITISH ISLES NAZARENE COLLEGE
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WITHDRAWN

From JOHN H. (CARDINAL) NEWMAN

ON THE

"CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND."

Second Edition.

"My dear Rev. Sir,—Your volume has just come to hand. I see at once, on cutting the leaves, that it embraces a wide range of interesting matter, and is replete with learning of the best kind. It will, I hope, have the success which it so well merits, and I doubt not I shall gain much instruction by its perusal.

"JOHN H. (CARDINAL) NEWMAN,
"Of the Oratory.

"Rev. S. Malone."

"TENANT WRONG ILLUSTRATED IN A NUTSHELL."

Addressed to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

"The outline of these facts is matter of public notoriety. For details, far more impressive than I have ventured to quote, the reader may refer to the pamphlet of the Rev. Slyvester Malone:—'Tenant Wrong illustrated in a Nutshell.'"*

* "England and Ireland," p. 19. By John Stuart Mill.

Dublin: M. H. GILL & SON, 50 Upper Sackville-st.
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IRISH CHURCH HISTORY.

VOL. I.

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CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION TO THE REFORMATION.

WITH

Succession of Bishops down to the present day.

BY

SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A.

AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.

AUTHOR OF "TENANT-WRONG ILLUSTRATED IN A NUTSHELL" AND "VINDICATION OF THE SAINTS, SHRINES, AND ROUND TOWERS OF IRELAND."

"Quamvis Eruditione et scientia inferior, nulla tamen sinceritate verique studio cedere unquam sustinebo."—*Mab. Præf. Sæc. Prim. Benedictinum.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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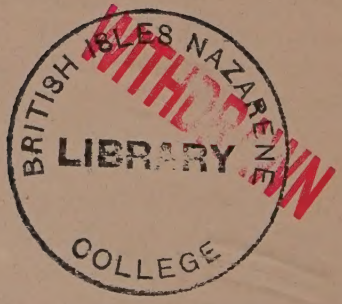

WITHDRAWN

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PREFACE.

THE plan of the present edition and the ground for the most part covered by it are the same as those of previous editions. On that account the title page describes it as the third edition, though it might be styled, with some propriety, the first edition; because the preceding editions, consisting each of a single volume, have been developed in the present into two, more voluminous than its predecessors; and because a considerable share of matter is found in the present of which there is scarcely a germ in the previous editions.

The period embraced by the following sheets comprises the history, under a certain aspect, of a considerable portion of the Middle Ages, and as such cannot be devoid of interest for the reader. While doctrine has been unchangeable, the discipline of the Church has changed with changing circumstances; and a history which makes us acquainted with the discipline of one of the oldest branches of the Catholic Church during a period of nearly four

hundred years, must have strong claims on the attention of the historical student.

Over and above the value attachable to a retrospect of the time within the limits of the work, it has this additional recommendation, that it is a connecting link between the old and modern discipline of the Church. The ancient discipline, no doubt, as understood by ecclesiastical historians, generally ceased before the period treated of in the following history, but not before the conversion of the Irish to Christianity; and that discipline, owing to the conservative turn of the Celtic mind, and the reverential tenacity with which the Irish Church clung to everything bequeathed by St. Patrick, was preserved almost in a crystalised state down to the Anglo-Norman invasion.

Nor even then did it altogether cease. It is not correct to state, as Dr. Lanigan and those who copied him have stated, that the ancient Irish offices and discipline universally gave way at once to English rites.

Abundant evidence exists to show that the ancient discipline of the Irish Church survived for centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion: nay, more; traces of that discipline, owing to the peculiar exigencies of the country, continued down to our own days.

If then to the history of the Irish Church a peculiar interest attaches, viewed in its disciplinary character, intensely interesting must it be in regard to

the doctrine involved in and expressed by that discipline.

It has been said, and on no slight grounds, that history since the Reformation has been only a vast conspiracy against truth. This has been strikingly illustrated by the treatment to which the Church history of Ireland has been subjected. If there be one Church rather than another which could be safely appealed to as echoing ancient Patristic teaching, it is the Irish Church. Yet, strange to say, many writers, from whom better might be expected, appealed to the teaching of the ancient Irish Church as confirmatory proof of the antiquity and truth of Protestantism.

This statement, believed in by a section of Irishmen, at least for a short time, was supported not so much by false as by mutilated, distorted quotations. That this should have happened is the less surprising, as the operation fell in with the prejudices of the readers; and those whose religion was misrepresented had not access to original and decisive documents.

Bold or blinded must have been the writers who hazarded assertions contradicted by the traditions, the practices, and writings of several successive generations. This contradiction is the more emphatic, as the writings of those claimed by Protestantism, which supply the contradiction, are the very autographs of the fathers of the early Irish Church.

Of such originals the old Book of Armagh and the still older Books of Dimma and the Stowe Missal are specimens; and in such, very few if any churches in Europe are so rich as the Irish Church.

The author, in the composition of the present history, never intended to support a theory in the obnoxious sense of the word. Not that, of course, he did not believe in the philosophy of history; not that he did not give a certain value to results and deductions from facts over and above the interest attaching to them: but he always considered that the deductions drawn by the unprejudiced reader from facts simply told, were far more safe than the foregone conclusions of an author who only twisted facts in support of these conclusions. By how much more simply, without reference to preconceived notions or theories, facts are told and established, by so much the better are the interests of truth consulted.

These were and are the views of the author on general history; but with regard to the history of the period embraced in the present work, he never judged that for polemical purposes there could be the least room for theorising.

He was not a little surprised, then, in seeing this not only attempted, but attempted in contradiction of well-established facts.

A recent work, the very latest, perhaps, written by one of the most learned Protestants in defence of the

late Establishment in Ireland, maintained that the Irish Catholics were not only previously, but subsequently to the Anglo-Norman invasion, independent of and rebellious to Romish supremacy; and that these independent old Catholics, either by being crushed between the Anglo-Norman importations and Roman missionaries, or dissolved in a solution with either, finally disappeared only after the Reformation.

The work to which I refer* was ostensibly a life of our National Apostle, but really an attempt to support a tottering establishment. Because while it contains only 250 pages on the life of the saint, it devoted 264 pages to an introduction. More than that; this introduction dealt not only with the period immediately preceding, but even subsequent to the so-called Reformation. The author of this remarkable work—the most learned Irish scholar, assuredly, of whom Protestants can boast—in page vi. of the preface, states, "that he was conscious of no controversial prejudice." Most people, however, would see in the work a tendency and an aim to shift the blame of the failure of the so-called Reformation in Ireland from the Protestant Church to the State, and to bring discredit and odium on the pre-Reformation Catholic Church, because of its connexion, however remote, with the English Government.

The distortion of facts by one otherwise fair and

* Dr. Todd's *Memoir of St. Patrick*

scholarly, in support of an untenable obnoxious position, only proves the force of prejudice.

In pages 234–5 of his introduction, the learned author states, referring to the year 1367, that the penal enactments against the Irish were sanctioned by the Irish bishops and the Court of Rome. Well, it is very singular that an author who came down to the Union never has a word about the penal enactments of "vicious perfection," as styled by Edmund Burke, to which the Protestant Church was a party. Nay, more; when the persecuting Government, in 1626, resolved to relax the grasp of tyranny, eleven Protestant bishops, headed by Primate Ussher, successfully opposed relief to Catholics who offered a large sum of money to purchase their inalienable right—liberty of conscience. This would be a sufficient answer to the author in question.

But as the charge against the mediæval Catholic Church may be made with more taste and force than by the learned author in question, it may be worth while here to say a few words in reply. Though, in conjunction with the Lords and Commons, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors were summoned to a legislative assembly, yet they were to sanction *only what appertained to them to assent to.* Now, this clearly proves that they did not stand godfathers to every enactment in Parliament.

Again, one of the clauses in the enactments at Kilkenny forbade the use of Irish names within the

Pale. However, three bishops, who are represented as sanctioning and subscribing to these enactments, styled themselves respectively *O'*Grady, *O'*Hagan, and *O'*Carroll. Therefore, they cannot be supposed to have supported and carried out ALL the enactments at Kilkenny. But the whole matter will receive a formal and full treatment at the proper place in the present work.

Then, again, in pages 242, 243, the learned author states, "that the ancient clergy of Irish descent, and of Irish tongue, were banished from their livings, and suffered to become extinct by papal policy," and "that the Church of the Pale was more devoted to Rome, and more completely under papal, or, as we would say, Ultramontane influence, than the ancient clergy and bishops of the aboriginal Irish Church ever were, or could have been." Nothing could be more untrue. Facts establish the contrary. If, then, in the course of this history, the writer directs the mind of the reader to certain definite conclusions, it is to prevent it from being imposed on by an unsound, however specious, theory.

Many persons not thoroughly acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Ireland imagine that it maintained down to the Reformation its previous high character for sanctity; and that the present history should only be a record of edifying deeds and holy actors. Such an illusion will be rudely broken by reading the following pages.

In the course of this history acts turn up which are not calculated much to edify. But they are noticed because so much at variance with the then everyday life. Again, the reader will bear in mind that it is the duty of the historian to relate his story as a narrator rather than as a panegyrist. When it is kept in mind that the events embraced in the following narrative occurred while every part of Ireland became a battle ground, that almost every county was fought for, won, retaken, and fought for again and again without interruption during 363 years, it becomes a matter for marvel not that there had been so much to disedify, but that there had not been much more. Perhaps, during a few years of modern civil or other wars there had been greater relaxation of discipline, a ruder shock given to the religious sentiment, a grosser neglect of the practical duties of religion than during the incessant wars of invasion for several centuries. Yes, wars of invasion; because as each supply of the Anglo-Norman element was yearly assimilated to or absorbed by the Irish—*becoming more Irish than the Irish themselves*—a fresh supply kept constantly pouring from the English shores.

On that account the tide of invasion set in as strongly in the beginning of the sixteenth as in the twelfth century. The Anglo-Irish colony represented the language, the laws, and the strength of

England. It expressed a likeness of the English Church but of the religion of Christendom. As we shall see, by-and-by, the Irish and the Anglo-Irish Churches were devout believers in the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, and, of course, were members of the Universal Church. But, at the same time, each blessed its own children, and sympathised with their temporal aims—the latter as much as the English themselves, the former as intensely as if Ireland never had been polluted by the step of an invader. The Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics were necessarily more mixed up with temporal concerns than the old Irish; because by the common law of England the chief offices of state were filled by ecclesiastics, and on that account, unless they forgot their privileges, could not avoid taking their places among the Barons, Chancellors, and Justiciaries of State. Not only the Anglo-Irish but even the old Irish ecclesiastics sometimes took their seats in the so-called Irish Parliament. On that account an Irish bishop, belonging to the families which assumed the prefix O' or Mac in the territory of the O'Briens, when forced into partnership with the Pale, and cut off, without a prospect of reunion, from the *enemy's country*, felt it a duty to make himself as useful and sympathising a member as an ecclesiastic in Dublin or Meath. Whoever, then, labours under the illusion that the happiest period—a period of harmony —in the history of the Irish Church was from the

invasion to the revolution in religion in the sixteenth century will be disenchanted by reading the following pages.

For full three hundred years previous to the invasion the Northmen endeavoured to make the Irish pagans; and for three hundred years subsequently the ferocious penal code was employed to make them apostates. There need be no hesitation in stating, then, that finer prospects than the present did not open for a thousand years on the Irish Church. Not that its work is done, but that there is vitality in it to do so. Most of the chains which fettered its actions have been loosed; and though they sunk deep into its members and left traces of awful suffering, yet vitality and vigour enough still remained. A noble career opens on the Irish Church, and it shows itself ready to run it. Outside towns, in the beginning of the present century, there was scarcely any other than a thatched house for worship. Since then there have been expended on churches over £1,061,215; on convents, £3,198,627; on colleges and seminaries, £309,018; and over £147,135 on asylums and hospitals. Some £300,000 have been expended on schools, managed solely by Catholics; £40,000 have been raised for throwing up a Catholic University. Since the year 1838, £149,124 have been contributed for the Propagation of the Faith. Aid of a nobler character had been imparted to the Foreign Missions. The united

dioceses of Cashel and Emly, during sixty years, have sent forth "conquering and to conquer" 143 priests, 33 monks, and 147 nuns; while 122 priests, 11 monks, and 87 nuns can be put down to the credit of Limerick alone. All Hallows College has sent out 400 priests since the year 1842. Instead of one Christian Brother there are now 195 in Ireland, imparting a solid and really national education to youth. At one time there had been no superior school for girls; now there are 51. There are also 2,990 schools built solely and managed by Catholics; 6 colleges directed by the worthy members of the Company of Jesus. There has been a considerable increase in the number of the secular clergy; while in 117 convents there are 650 regulars. Finally, notwithstanding the efforts of proselytism, of wasting fever, and exhausting enforced emigration, 77·7 per cent. of the population is Catholic.*

If the period embraced by the following sheets be the most gloomy and uninspiring, it is at the same time perhaps the most difficult period of Irish history to deal with. In previous centuries whole volumes might be written on the life of one man, say St. Patrick; and in subsequent times piles of State papers are devoted to the career and end of some martyr bishop. It is not so with the period dealt with in this history.

* See an interesting pamphlet, "Progress of Catholicity in the Nineteenth Century."

While the materials for the ecclesiastical historian are scanty, they are rather copious for the civil historian. To be sure, the annals of some convent are full and unbroken; but when an effort is made to give a more general interest, a more extensive bearing to facts which clustered abundantly and interestingly around a particular locality, they become useless elements and lose their significance.

Hence the editors of the Camden Society, in the preface to the "Proceedings against Dame Kitler," had to complain that the period embraced by the following history was "quite barren of events interesting to the ecclesiastical historian."

Nor in dealing with his materials, such as they are, has the ecclesiastical the same facility as the civil historian for giving picturesqueness to his pages. For it is not his province to give pictures of scenery of nature in her charming aspect or horrid savageness—in order to the appreciation of events. It is not his province to furnish descriptions of defeats, or the pomp and circumstance of victory; of sieges, or of those battles by which the interest of the reader is wound to a pleasurable pitch.

While the materials for ecclesiastical history are scanty, they offer an almost insuperable obstacle to being woven into a web which would reflect the colour and give the tone of general society. Many facts start up before us apparently without a motive, and surely without an important general result.

Such facts, when penned by the chronicler, are not without a touch of nature and beauty, but it is impossible to range them under general heads. It is difficult to give consecutiveness to the narrative. Principles were cut short in their natural development. So shifting, so violently disjointed was society during the latter part of the Middle Ages in Ireland, that the greatest, the boldest spirits were unable to impress their age. Men who in the present age would affect every particle in the mass of society, were carried helplessly on by the headlong current of events. The great effort of the author, then, has been, while he has not indulged in the transcendental flight of an essayist or dissertator, not to clog his march by the mere dull chronicling of an annalist.

Here it may not be amiss to prepare the reader for a departure from the several standard authorities on the succession of Irish bishops: and I feel this the more called for as I have not given my authorities for dissenting from Harris and Ware. I had been apprehensive that the giving of all authorities for each succession, and the reasons, in the absence of direct authority, for inclining the scale in balancing probabilities, would too much encumber the pages of an appendix.

To understand the doubts and difficulties to which the appointment to bishopries gave rise, one should bear in mind that three or four parties claimed a voice in the appointments. The dean and chapter ordi-

narily elected, the king exercised a *veto*, the metropolitan confirmed the election, and for some time the Sovereign Pontiff reserved the appointment to himself. Nay, more, the members of some religious house presented to the metropolitan occasionally, or sent to Rome for consecration some person different from the elected of the dean and chapter.

Sometimes, too, several persons were consecrated for the same see by different metropolitans, owing to the disputed limits of the ecclesiastical provinces; and there have been instances of several persons consecrated to the same see by the archbishop and his official in the absence of the former.

Each annalist, then, in the compilation of a list of bishops, was likely to be influenced by bias towards his own party, and ignore the claims of various rivals in disputed successions. Hence the various lists of bishops made out. And this was the more material whenever it happened that the decision of the Holy See, the supreme arbiter of all ecclesiastical disputes, had not been ascertained.

The *Vetera Monumenta* of the Irish Church, by Father Theener, just covering the same ground as the following history, is a valuable supplement and corrective of native writers. Honest and painstaking in other respects as Ware appears, the propriety of not implicitly following him in the succession of bishops must recommend itself from the nature of the case; and even though he had the fullest evidence

before him, his honest prejudices were on some occasions likely to bias his judgment.

If in a work to which I lately referred, in our day, when so much prejudice has been dissipated, it has been maintained that the Pope had no voice in the appointment to purely Irish bishoprics, we can easily conceive how anti-papal and erroneous must have been the views of Sir James Ware on the authority of the Popes at the end of the seventeenth century.

Every candid student of history must admit that if one or more had a voice in the canonical appointment of bishops in Ireland, it was derived from the privilege or sanction of the Apostolic See, the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Vatican documents are most useful not only in filling up otherwise hopeless chasms, but even in harmonising irreconcilable statements. Even the Vatican archives, either from a clerical error or other cause, are not sometimes consistent with themselves.*

In conclusion, the present work is given to the public with a feeling of thankfulness and hope; with thankfulness for the favour with which previous editions had been generally received; and with a hope that the present third edition deserves a still

* For instance, in 1527, M. Saunders is mentioned as succeeding by the death of Thomas Leighlin, whereas it is certain he succeeded by the death of Maurice. So, too, in regard to the successors of James O'Currin, in Killaloe; he is now ignored, and again acknowledged in Roman documents.

larger share of favour. Pains have been taken to guard against the faults of its predecessors. Some of these faults have received correction as well from additional reading on the part of the author, as from his own reflection; but for whatever may still remain, he throws himself on the kind indulgence of the reader.

Kilfinachta, Sixmilebridge,
June XXIVth, MDCCCLXXX.

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CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

THOUGH it is certain that Christians were in Ireland before Saint Patrick, and though it is equally certain that Pagans were in it after his death, yet the conversion of Ireland is justly attributed to the Saint's apostleship. Because, though he found it, on the whole, a Pagan, he left it to all intents and purposes, a Christian country. His apostleship to Ireland began about the year 432. His mission was blessed by Rome. The darkness of Paganism overspread the land; but by his preaching the darkness was dissipated. He visited the several parts of the country. All flocked to hear him.

No people, perhaps, ever appeared so ready as the Irish for Christianity. For without hesitation, without reluctance, but rather with joy, they both abjured their errors, and laid aside their wicked practices. While in most other churches the seed of the Gospel was and is watered with the blood of its missionaries, the Irish Church presents the singular phenomenon of having been founded without bloodshed and in peace. On the other hand, if such churches were brought forth in travail and sorely tried in infancy, halcyon days by and by came on them. Not so with the Irish Church. Calm and happiness were the portion of its youth; but as ages rolled on they brought trouble and formidable danger.

With considerable success the Gospel was preached in other countries before the light of Christianity fully dawned on Ireland: however, few churches in Europe can aspire to the same antiquity as the Irish Church. Recared was the first Catholic king of Spain. The conversion of the Franks may be dated at the conversion of their king Clovis. Saint Augustine, in the time of Pope Gregory the Great, is styled the apostle of the Saxons. But before the time of Recared, Clovis, or of Saint Augustine, a glorious hierarchy was established by Saint Patrick in Ireland. Nor, after his death, did that hierarchy falter in its glorious career. For two or three centuries the Irish Church was an object of envy, a model of imitation to the neighbouring churches.

Bravely decked out like the bride for the bridegroom, that Church was without wrinkle or spot. The young and old of both sexes displayed a noble emulation in a striving after perfection. Such had been the detachment from the world, that the mountain, the lonely glen, the wood—all quarters of the land were covered with monastic retreats. The contest between brothers and sisters had been, not who would inherit the good things of this world, but who would be first to renounce its charms. Conventual institutions dotted the country. Famous schools for learning were established. Such had been Clonmacnois, Bangor, Lismore, and Clonard. Seven thousand students are said to have been at one time at the school of Armagh. While by the invasion of the Goths and the breaking up of the Western Empire notes of war through the rest of Europe sounded in the gloom of ignorance, the Irish Church rung with sacred psalmody. The fame of Ireland's learning and sanctity attracted to it, from afar, the pilgrim of science and religion. From Rome, from Egypt, from Gaul, from

England, the pilgrims came.* They came in no small numbers. At one time a hundred and fifty skiffs freighted with pilgrims touched the shores of Ireland. Food, and raiment, and costly books, were gratuitously supplied to them. And after they had learned all branches of profane science, and the still more sublime science of the Saints, while some returned home, others loved to lay their bones in the Island of Saints; for by such an appellation Ireland, on the best grounds, was universally recognised.

Nor did the Irish saintly missionaries confine their zeal to the narrow space of the Irish Church. There is scarcely a spot in Europe where zeal and a love of holy adventure did not carry them. In Italy, France, Belgium, Northern Britain, England, along the Rhine, through every part of Germany, in Switzerland, Franconia, Saltzburg, from Iceland to the Mediterranean, the Irish missionaries gained souls to Christ. The torch of science, which had well nigh gone out under the irruption of the Northern barbarians and the disruption of the Roman Empire, was kindled into a strong and steady blaze in the monastic halls of Ireland. Hence, whenever a difficulty or danger arose to the Universal Church, the talent and virtue of Irishmen were pressed into her service. Did Claudius, a Spaniard, and Bishop of Turin, advocate the heresy of Iconoclasm, the Irish Dungall was invited to refute him. Did the vexed question of the famous "Three Chapters" agitate the religious world, the voice of the far-famed Columbanus of Ireland is clearly heard over the stormy scene, and rings in the ear of even the supreme Pontiff. Ireland had been associated with learning and sanctity. The fact of

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 23, col. 2. I beg to state, once for all, that in referring to the *Leabhar Breac*, I shall quote from the copy published by the R.I.A.

being an Irish monk or abbot was a guarantee of learning. Pope John, when writing to Ireland, identifies Irish abbots with learned doctors.* Hence, too, when Charlemagne was laying the foundation of a great University, be summoned to his aid the talents of accomplished Irishmen. From the fifth to the eighth century Ireland appeared to realise the glorious vision which St. John in Patmos caught of the Church. But at the close of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the lovely vision disappeared. The irruption of the Danes brought an interruption to sacred offices. The sanctuary flowed with blood—the monasteries were rifled—the towns were burnt—the country was laid waste. For two centuries wave after wave of invasion came down from the north, and buried for a time works of art, science, and religion. Between the Northmen and the Irish there had been a war to the death. Relaxation of discipline and interruption to the divine offices, consequent on the wars, together with the demoralizing effects of Pagan manners, told seriously against the Irish Church. However, by the battle of Clontarf in 1014 the power of the invader was broken. The independence of Ireland was secured. Full time was given to the Irish Church to convert those who had been conquered by Irish valour.

But though Ireland had little to fear from further invasions by the Northmen, and had less to fear from those who survived and remained in the country, yet the latter insisted on keeping possession of many of the maritime towns. This circumstance connected for a time a part of the Irish Church with the English Church. Because, the Danes in Ireland claimed kindred with the Northmen, who, coming from Normandy

* "Cæteris doctoribus sive abbatibus scitis", etc.—*Sylloge* of Ussher.

under William the Conqueror, invaded and subjugated the Saxons, on that account the Northmen of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick sent their bishops to England to receive consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury. This dependence on, or connection with England, was put an end to by the Council of Kells, held in 1152. For Dublin was raised to the dignity of an Archiepiscopal See, and the Sees of Waterford and Limerick were, by legatine authority, subjected to the metropolitan See of Cashel. Instead of co-operating with the Church in curing disorders naturally arising from the wars of invasion, the native kings and nobles long perpetuated these disorders. The chief sovereignty, which was not much more than nominal, over the inferior kings and princes, was long and fiercely disputed by several rival families. The election of dynast or lord to the chieftaincy of a sept opened the way to much disunion. During those times of confusion, the See of Armagh was occupied for 200 years by one family. Eight persons in succession of this family, though enjoying the revenues of the Primatial See, and taking the name of archbishops, were *married* men. Indeed, regularly consecrated persons were procured and hired by them for the discharge of the episcopal functions. In like manner the ecclesiastical lands of many monasteries were usurped. Persons who were called in to farm or defend the Church lands, or remembering that such lands were the gift of their devout ancestors, seized and transmitted them as a regular inheritance to their children. The regularity of canonical election was deranged, and simony to some extent prevailed.

But though ignorance and a relaxation of morals succeeded to the Danish invasion, yet such relaxation and ignorance existed only relative to other

times. For, in comparison to other Churches, the Irish Church was pure and enlightened. Even in the tenth century, a dark age in many respects for the Universal Church, Ireland could afford to send teachers to England. Among the several famous seats of learning founded in England by the Irish, Glastonbury was pre-eminent. In the eleventh century, the English, even princes, resorted to Ireland for their education. This boon was the more to be prized, as the English clergy who could read and write were deemed fortunate. So late as the twelfth century, those countries congratulated themselves who could procure Irish teachers and missionaries. Hence houses were given to them, as elsewhere, at Nuremberg,* Wurtzburg,† Ratisbon,‡ Vienna, and along the Rhine.§

No nation in Europe showed a greater tenacity of

* From 1140 to the year 1418 the Irish held possession of Nuremberg.

† Even so late as 1378, the Abbot of Wurtzburg claimed jurisdiction over the Abbey of St. Mary's, at Ross.

‡ The Monastery of Ratisbon, founded in the first quarter of the twelfth century, continued for many years in the possession solely of the Irish. Frederick II., in the year 1212, confirmed the privileges granted to the Monastery of SS. James and John. He speaks of various kinds of property with which it was endowed. Eight vineyards, seven mills, four dependent chapels, three fisheries, several forests, and other property belonged to the Monastery of Ratisbon. In 1442 the Emperor Sigismund confirmed to it all former grants, and in his preface to the grant declares the Monastery to belong to the inhabitants of Ireland (Scotia Major). However, in course of time, except the towers and diamond-shaped pavement, the entire Monastery was built anew. Again, as we learn from Father Théiner, Pope Clement V., in 1310, ratified an old and approved custom of admitting the Irish of every religious order into the Monastery of Wurtzburg. His words were: "Veteri et approbata consuetudine".

§ "Vetustissimus fuerit in insula Rheni ipsius dicta, Hohenaugia, prope Argentoratum, ... dicitur Monasterium Scotorum, 'ecclesia Scotorum' ".—Mabillon, *An. Benedict*, 2, p. 695. *Neugart*, n. 533. *Gram. Celtica*, Zeuss. *Præf.* XIV. *Pertz*, 2, 73.

old customs, or greater veneration for its saints, than the Irish nation. On this account, customs or habits which took their rise in variable circumstances, were continued after the circumstances on which they were founded had changed. So it was in reference as well to the time of holding the Paschal solemnity as to the tonsure. Agreeably to the cycle used in Gaul and in Rome when St. Patrick came to Ireland, which was the cycle of eighty-four years, the festival of Easter Sunday, even though it chanced to fall on the fourteenth day of the lunar month after the vernal equinox, was celebrated by the saint on that day. On that day, too, the Jewish Pasch might chance to have been celebrated. As well to prevent such a coincidence, as because of its greater correctness, the Alexandrine cycle of nineteen years was adopted; to this cycle Rome itself conformed. It did not allow the Paschal solemnity to be celebrated either before the 22nd of March, or after the 25th of April. If the old Irish and old Roman customs allowed the solemnity to take place earlier than the 22nd of March, they did not allow it to be so late as the 25th of April. But the difficulty was to bring the Irish to adopt, as Rome had done, the correct Alexandrine computation. A national schism was well nigh the consequence. In the one scale lay a scrupulous adherence to the teachings of St. Patrick; in the other, a profound respect for the opinion and practices of Rome. The latter ultimately preponderated.*

* Some maintain, however, that the error in calculating Easter came from the East after St. Patrick's time. They rely on the words of a very ancient writer: "Primus Ordo Sanctorum habebat unum Pascha post æquinoctium vernale celebrabrant".—Fleming, *Collec. Sacra.*

For an interesting account of the method of calculating the Easter-tide, see some three articles of the *Irish Eccles. Record*, by the Vice-president of Maynooth, Very Rev. Dr. Walsh, in the April, May, and July Nos., 1876.

In like manner a fierce contest raged about the fashion of wearing the hair. St. Patrick recommended to ecclesiastics the custom of clipping the hair from ear to ear in front, in the form of a semicircle. The form was an indifferent, or rather an edifying symbolism; by and by it became obnoxious, and so the Roman method of clipping the hair in a circular form on the crown of the head became the rule. Only respect for Rome made the Irish ecclesiastics adopt its practice, as well in reference to this tonsure as to the Pascal computation.

Rome interfered with the discipline of a national Church in the early ages of Christianity only when it tended to or savoured of heresy. On that account, down to the twelfth century, Ireland had its peculiar liturgies and offices. These were partly introduced by St. Patrick, and partly added to by the illustrious saints of the early Irish Church. However, on the whole, the discipline of the Irish Church, as left by St. Patrick, remained as if in a cast-iron state. Our national Apostle, with a turn of mind as practical as holy, moulded everything that was variable in the discipline and economy of the Church, according to the circumstances of the age and the country. But what *he* did from necessity or mere choice, his simple followers put down to deep wisdom or heavenly inspiration; even a change which evidently might advance the accidental glory of God was shunned as a heresy. Such had been the respect for the great Apostle by his child-like disciples, that their churches seldom equalled, and never exceeded, in size the church which he built in Armagh.

As in all parts of the early Christian Church, so too in the Irish Church. every village had its own bishop. By degrees, year after year, the several parts of the country were gained to the fold of Christ. But

when, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the care of parochial churches was committed to priests alone (subject, of course, to the superintendence of the bishops), and not to bishops only, as originally, a new distribution of dioceses took place. As a consequence, the number of sees was much lessened; for reasons which I assigned already, the process of consolidation did not take place in the Irish Church. There had been a scrupulous attachment as well to established customs as to an apostolic simplicity of manners. Even in the twelfth century, one of the Irish bishops, who is said to have attended at the third general Council of Lateran,* had no support save what was derived from the milk of a few cows.

Another impediment in the way of consolidating dioceses in the Irish Church arose from the fact that the conterminous dynasts had not the wish, and that the supreme monarch had not often the power, to bring about an union of sees. On that account, even in the latter part of the twelfth century, some sixty independent dioceses existed in Ireland.† Attached

* Primate Gelasius, who is represented as accompanied by a cow or two, on whose milk solely he lived, is not given among the bishops who attended the Council of Lateran. Fleury, by saying that one of the attending Irish bishops lived exclusively on the milk of a cow, implies the presence of Gelasius at the Council.

† A Roman provincial gives the list of sees, as they existed after the Synod of Kells, held in 1152. Armagh, and under it are given Connorensis, Deconnannas, Dedamlialiag, Dedundalethglass, Deardanliad, Dedarrich, Ingundunum, Deralhboth, Dunensis, Dromorensis, Eluamirana al Midensis, Delathlurig, Renensis or Renelensis or Crocorensis, Cluanensis or Claunerdensis, Rochinonensis or Rathbothensis, Artagadonensis or Ardocadensis, Ceneversis, Hengamensis. Under Cashel were placed as Suffragan Sees—Decendalensis or Laonensis, Derostreensis or Widifordianus, Deartifertensis, Luench, Lismorensis, Fennaborensis or Fymbarensis, De Insula, Deduanomensis or Cluanensis, Landensis, Carthax, Tubricensis, Decellininabrach, Deconeagia or Corcagiensis, Ardfertensis, Demilech or Umblicensis, Derosailither, Water-

as the Irish Church was to an order of things sanctioned and instituted by its saintly founders, yet several times it took steps to reduce the multiplication of small sees. So early as about 1118, the Synod at Rathbreasail decreed that the number of sees in the Irish Church should be reduced to twenty-six. Afterwards, but before the Anglo-Norman set a foot in Ireland, the Synod of Kells in 1152 decreed that the number of sees should be fixed at thirty-eight. The decree, of course, was not to have effect till the death of some of the then living bishops. Before the Synod of Kells, at which a papal legate presided, there was only one see which enjoyed strictly metropolitan rights. That see was Armagh. For some years however before the Synod, the diocese of Cashel was styled a metropolitical Church. It was an

fordiensis. Under Tuam were—Derinageonensis, Achadensis, Nelfinensis, Decellaiæ, Deconairi, Encdunensis, Roscommon, Decelmundaiach, Chartifertensis, Deculuanferd, Duacensis, Bladensis. Under Dublin were placed—Glendalicensis, Caldetensis or Kiscarensis, Glensis or Glensonensis, Ossiniensis, Darensis, Gainich, Licelinensis.

A list of sees according to Camden follows. Under Armagh were—Meath or Elnamiraad, Dunensis or Dundalethglass. Colchorensis or Lugundunensis, Connorensis, Ardachadensis, Rathlucensis, Daluliguirensis, Dearrihensis. Under Dublin were—Glendalicensis, Fernensis, Ossiriensis or de Canice, Lechniniensis, Kildarensis. Under Cashel were—Laonensis, de Kindalnam, Limericensis, De Insula Gathay, de Cellumbrath, Melicensis or de Emeleth, Rossiensis or Roscreensis, Waterfordiensis al de Batilfordian, Lismorensis, Clonensis or de Cluanania, Corcagiensis, De Rosalither, Ardfertensis. Under Tuam were—Duatensis or Kilmaeduae, De Magio, Enachdcmensis, De Cellaiaro. De Roscommon, Clonfertensis, Achadensis, Ludensis or Killaleth, De Conany, De Kilmunduach, and Elphinensis.

Bingham, p. 9, ch. viii. Schlestrati (vol. II., *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Illustratæ*) gives sixty sees in Ireland.

Wilkins (vol. I., p. 472) gives under Armagh the strange dioceses, Charensis, Thuensis; under Cashel, the no less strange sees, Lucapnearensis, Aremorensis; in Leinster, Erupolensis; and in Connaught, Kilferensis and Acathkourensis.

honorary title: other sees too in the early ages of the Irish Church, as in other parts of the Christian Church, enjoyed an honorary dignity. Such an honor, by the seventh canon of the Council of Nice, did Jerusalem enjoy saving the rights of the metropolitical see. Just such a dignity did Sletty and other Churches in Ireland enjoy. The dignity was annexed not to the see but to the individual.

Another peculiarity in the Irish Church in comparatively late times was, that not only the metropolitical but even the episcopal dignity of a Church depended on an accident. Thus a few years previous to the invasion by the English, O'Brolchan is mentioned by the annals as the first Bishop of Derry.* Beyond question, however, the same annals, in the years 927, 937, and 968, speak of an existing diocese of Derry. The inference is that the episcopal dignity though lost was resumed by Derry. Finally, as a peculiarity in the Irish Church, it may be noticed that down to the twelfth century the offices of abbot and bishop were sometimes united in one person.

Another point of contrast to neighbouring churches in the Irish Church, was its use, down to the twelfth century, of a national liturgy, and of peculiar offices;

* Derry, as the seat of the famous St. Columba, enjoyed valuable privileges. It received a tribute which went under the name of St. Columbkille's, as that which Armagh received was called St. Patrick's. In the year 1150, O'Brolchan, as successor to St. Columbkille, made a visitation in Tyrone. He obtained a horse from every chieftain, a cow from two Biatachs, a cow from every three free tenants, a cow from four villeins, twenty cows from the king himself, and a gold ring of five ounces in weight, with his horse and battle dress, from the son of O'Lochnan, King of Ireland. In 1153, on visiting Down and Antrim, he obtained a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth, a screaball (it was three pence), a horse and five cows, from the Prince O Dunslebthe, and an ounce of gold from his wife. In 1161, on visiting Ossory, O'Brolchan accepted, instead of 140 oxen due to him, 420 ounces of pure silver.

the most ancient and renowned churches afforded a precedent for this custom. At Alexandria was used the liturgy under the name of St. Marc; at Antioch, that under the name of St. Peter; at Jerusalem, that under the name of St. James; and at Constantinople was used the liturgy which went under the name of St. Chrysostom. In the Western Church likewise, the four famous churches, Rome, Milan, Spain, and France, had respectively, the Roman, Ambrosian, Mosarabic, and Gallican liturgies. As either may have been used indifferently at the time of St. Patrick, he carried with him to Ireland the liturgy with which from youth he had been familiar. That liturgy was, according to many, to a great extent, Gallican; and the Gallican partook as well of the nature of the oriental as the Roman liturgy. Because the most famous early preachers in Gaul, Saint Irenæus, Pothinus of Lyons, Trophimus of Arles, Saturninus of Toulouse, were oriental. Even the Roman liturgy bore a more marked likeness to the oriental in early times than at present.

But it was not the *use* of a national liturgy so much as its continuation down to the twelfth century which formed a peculiarity in the Irish Church. Nor was this all: the second and third classes of Irish saints, as known to hagiographers, were divided into several congregations. Each congregation had its own peculiar liturgy and office. This variety of liturgies and offices continued to the time in which Gillibert was appointed Roman legate in Ireland. In the first years of the twelfth century he endeavoured to bring the various Irish offices into harmony with the Roman. He may have succeeded to some extent, but that he did not *altogether* succeed appears from a decree made in 1172, at Cashel.

It would have been a fortunate thing, even for the

temporal interests of Ireland, if some one royal family could challenge the allegiance of the country. And it would have been doubly fortunate for it if the monarchy were not elective. Thus much blood might have been spared, and the energies of the people might have been directed to the promotion of the arts of peace and civilization. Then it might have been expected in process of time, as happened to other nations, that some bold sovereign would break the power of independent chiefs or princes, * and asserting the majesty of a common law, would have his just fiat bowed to even by the proudest. As it was, however, a number of petty, jealous, and independent princes warred with each other. Even so late as 1215, as a matter of right, the title of kings was assumed "by O'Neil of Yncheun, by M'Dunlen of Ultonia, by O'Slin of Cork, by O'Hanlon of Orgial, by M'Karlan of O'Nelich, and by M'Gillimore of Anderkin".† In the year 1220, the Pope, in directing letters to Connaught, Ulster, and Munster, addresses the kings of Connaught, Cork, Limerick, and of Ulster. Later still, in the time of Richard II., the Anglo-Irish Government felt proud in receiving the homage of seventy-five chieftains. We can then easily imagine the impossibility of getting all the petty princes, previously to the Anglo-Norman invasion, to unite in procuring uniformity of discipline, or a reduction in the number of the sees. The Ecclesiastics were bound up in feeling and fortunes with their chiefs. Hence between the Ecclesiastics of two different Septs there may have been as much estrangement as between the Ecclesiastics of two widely separated kingdoms. The impossibility of

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*—Letter to Edward I.

working harmony out of such discordant elements must have forced itself on the Ecclesiastics; because several times did they endeavour, to no purpose, to bring about a reduction of bishoprics. Even the Synod of Kells, held at the suggestion of the Pope, and presided over by his legate, thought not of bringing the number of sees lower than thirty-eight. And this decree, without a strong hand to enforce it, might have proved as inoperative as former like decrees. But after the coming of the English, the number of sees, as we are told by Brompton, was brought down to thirty-three.

One man indeed there was whose voice should have been heard and action felt through the whole Irish Church—the successor of St. Patrick. But the influence naturally attaching to the See of Armagh was lessened by the long line of usurpers who occupied it for more than 200 years. And during eight successions, the occupiers of the Primatial revenues, as being laymen and married, possessed little more influence than any other petty despot. Occasionally, indeed, as in 1099 and in other instances, the Primate made peace between Muchertach and Hy-Niall. More than a dozen of times, during the first half of the twelfth century, did the Church interpose, and fling the olive branch of peace among contending chiefs and armies. The peace may have been brought about, however, as well by the accident of humour as interest. Contending parties did not feel the stern necessity of obeying a power which may not be resisted. The "Staff of Jesus" ceased to inspire that respect or fear which should attach to the primatial crozier. The bishop's decree was good in his own district; but beyond that he spoke not in the tone of command, but in the accents of entreaty.

Uniformity in discipline between the several parts

of the Irish Church, and between it and Rome, was not the most serious want. In the train of the Danish invasion and subsequent petty feuds came gross abuses. Interruption to the divine offices, simony, the usurpation of ecclesiastical revenues, and immorality prevailed. Among the Danish population in Ireland, the immorality sometimes took an unnatural form. Far am I from saying that the Irish Church was in a worse state than other churches. But beyond question the gold of the sanctuary had been much obscured. A temporary paralysis, not the corruption of death, had seized the Irish Church. The vital spirit was strong within it. Hence, from the beginning to the middle of the twelfth century, the religious sap which before had thrown out countless conventual institutions was not exhausted. The priory of Louth was founded in 1148; the priory of Down in 1138; the priory of Bangor in 1120; the priory of Dungiven, Londonderry, in 1100; the abbey of St. Finbar, near Cork, in 1134; the priory of St. John Baptist, Tuam, in 1140; the nunnery for Augustinian Canonesses, Dublin, in 1146; the nunnery of St. Kilken, Kilkenny, in 1151; a religious house of Athaddy, Carlow, in 1151; that of Baltinglass, about 1150; the abbey of the B.V.M. at Bectiff, East Meath, about the same time; that of Shroul, County Longford, about 1152; the abbey of the B.V. Mary at Mellifont, in 1142; that of Nenay, County Limerick, about 1150; that of Odorney or Kyrie Eleison, in 1157; the abbey of Erynagh or Carrig, in 1127; the priory of the B.V.M. at Lisgool, County Fermanagh, in 1106; that of Ferns, in 1158; a house at Athlone, in 1150; the abbey of B.V.M. at Grillechdune, in 1148, and was translated to Boyle in 1161; the priory of the Colidæi at Davinish, County Fermanagh, in 1106; the house for Augustinian Canons

there, in 1148; a house under the invocation of the B.V.M. and St. Patrick, at Newry, in 1157;* and in 1166 were founded in Dublin a house for regular Canons, and the priory of All Saints.

The foundation of these houses had been the development of the religious principle during the first half of the twelfth century.† Their founders were princes and chiefs. And during the same period a body of holy ecclesiastics comes before us, which may stand a comparison with those of any other national Church. How redolent of virtue and worth are the soberest epithets which the most prosaic chroniclers applied to such ecclesiastics! There were Patrick O'Banan of Connor, "full of meekness and sanctity, and cleanness of heart"; O'Coffey of Derry, "a bright star in learning and charity, powerful in prayer and holy pilgrimage"; Gregory of Dublin, a "wise man"; Lonergan, Archbishop of Cashel, "a man wise and liberal to the poor"; Christian, Bishop of Lismore, legate from the holy see, and canonized by English Martyrologists; Gilla Æda O'Mugin, Bishop of Cork, "sanctified by God alone, and full of God's blessings"; Nehemias O'Moriertach, who died in 1149, "a plain modest man, excelling all others in wisdom and chastity"; Thady O'Lonergan, Bishop of Killaloe, "a learned and charitable man"; Ædan O'Hoisin, of Tuam, "celebrated for piety, learning, and liberality"; O'Ruadan of Achonry, "a man of wisdom and high reputation"; blessed Cornelius, whose office, even in the present day, is celebrated in the Church of

* The Foundation Charter is dated 1160.

† During the latter half of the same century, Donagh O'Brien, King of Limerick, founded no fewer than a hundred churches and abbeys. Among the latter Clonroad (cluain roimh fada), *near* Ennis, maintained to the Reformation 600 scholars.—Mason's *Statistical Survey*, vol. i.

Savoy; Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, and his successor St. Malachy, who would shed a lustre on the brightest period of the Church's history. All these, with scarcely an exception, lived before the synod of Kells.

Nor must we forget Gelasius nor his long life of usefulness and labour. Raised to the primacy, he led a life truly apostolic. He attained among his contemporaries the character of pre eminent sanctity. He assisted at the synod of Innisfallen in 1148, at that of Kells in 1152, at that of Mellifont in 1157, at that of Clane in 1162; he was indefatigable in the visitation as well of his own diocese as of the entire national Church; he visited Connaught four times and the other provinces. His sanctity obtained a niche in the calendar of domestic martyrologists. Such men realized to themselves the wounds inflicted on the discipline of their Church, and they applied themselves to heal them. A spirit of renovating beauty was passing over the transient deformity of the Church. Hence Councils national and provincial were of frequent occurrence. A national one was held in the year 1111, and another Council at Rathbreasail in 1118. Provincial Councils were held in Tuam and Cashel; the former in 1143, the latter in 1134. A synod was held in Holmpatrick in 1148. The Synod of Kells, which forms an epoch in Irish Church History, was held in 1152. A Council, attended by 25 Bishops, was held in East Meath, at Brimactigue, in 1158. And in the year 1167 was held a meeting in Athboy at which good resolutions were decreed. So much so that, in the words of the annalists, "women unprotected travelled in safety through the land". But while things wore a hopeful appearance for the Irish Church, while that Church was steadying itself after many terrible shocks given by invasion, an event occurred which affected

it for centuries, and from the effects of which it has not yet quite recovered. I allude to the English invasion.

CHAPTER II.

THERE had been a contest for the sovereignty of Ireland between O'Connor, on one hand, and Melaghlin or O'Neil on the other. Dermod M'Murrough, King of Leinster, invariably sided with the latter. On the death of O'Neil, O'Connor raised himself to the dignity of supreme king. Moreover, M'Murrough, by enormities which he appeared to have inherited, made himself personally obnoxious.* It became his turn to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. He was deposed. In order to restoration to his kingdom the dethroned king, in 1168, went to England and thence to Normandy to beg the aid of Henry II. Though he did not actually promise or send reinforcements to M'Murrough, he recommended him to all his liegemen. Returning through Wales, M'Murrough told the story of his adventures and misfortunes to some Welsh adventurers. Among these was Fitzstephen, who promised the service of his sword. M'Murrough comes home and keeps himself quiet in Ferns. In the following year, 1169, in the month of May,† Fitzstephen, accompanied by

* His father in one year deprived of life or sight eighteen dependent princes. He was hated by enemies, and not loved by friends. His hands were against every person, and those of every person against him.—*Leland*, p. 12.

† No greater mistake can be than to suppose that the abduction of Dervorgilla, wife of O'Rourke Prince of Brefny, by M'Murrough, was the cause of the invasion. M'Murrough applied for

several hundred brave soldiers, landed at or near Wexford. By and by came his maternal brother, Fitzgerald; and in the following year came Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow. Bloodshed and slaughter followed in their train. Irish prisoners, though only guilty of being caught fighting for the independence of their country, were put to death in cold blood.*

While the invaders were fighting their way slowly but successfully to each stronghold, a synod was held at Armagh. Than the decree emanating from that synod nothing shows more clearly the spiritual views of the Irish Bishops. They consider what may have caused the coming of the English. Like men of faith, true children of their saintly fathers, they viewed it in a supernatural light. Such a visitation, they maintained, was called down by their sins. Particular stress was laid on a traffic formerly carried on in English slaves, sold without necessity by their parents, and bought by the Irish.† The Irish Bishops

aid because he was dethroned. He was dethroned, not because of the abduction of Dervorgilla, which happened eighteen years previously, but because of his opposition to the family of O'Connor, and of his many outrages. Of course the abduction of Dervorgilla was not forgotten by O'Rourke, her husband.

* Though a fair sum was offered for their ransom, seventy captives were flung from a steep rock, by Montmoris.

† Even down to the twelfth century, slaves were objects of traffic with the English.—Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, April No.

It is remarkable that, in addressing the elect to a bishopric, the Popes, down to the 16th century, spoke of the bishop of the diocese, of its people, and its vassals.—Theiner, *passim*.

So, too, in a manuscript written about the beginning of the 14th century, there is an allusion to the existence and obligations of slavery. It states that "he is not competent for the judgment of a tribe nor of a Fuidhir, who does not know their separation: that is, he is not fit for the judgeship, according to the Fenechas, upon

in synod declared as their opinion, that as the Saxons by the sale of slaves brought on themselves the yoke of the Normans, so the Irish, by the purchase of slaves, merited a like punishment from the same enemy. Accordingly every slave through Ireland was declared free.* Onward, however, marched the invaders. They mastered Wexford and Waterford. Making their way through Leinster, they besieged the city of Dublin. Roderick, monarch of Ireland, watched with alarm the progress of the strangers. Deserted by native princes and discouraged by domestic feuds, he dared not stake the kingdom on the issue of a battle.†

At this time there was one man to whom the Irish Church owes a debt of gratitude, one who endeavoured to raise the siege or obtain favourable terms for the citizens of Dublin. That man was Saint Laurence O'Toole. Lorcan O'Tuathail was born about the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. His mother was of the powerful family of the O'Byrnes. His father's family owned what corres-

a tribe nor upon a semi-slave—that is, one who is such during the period of three successive masters, or the separation from the tribe, or the semi-slave from a lord".

If the Fuidhir crossed the boundary line into another territory, and took those lands stocked, not having brought anything with him, and remained himself or his children with three successive lords, as half-enslaved, they could take nothing with them, and could go; but if they came under the fourth lord in succession, they could not go.—*MS. T.C.D.* (H. 2, 15), fol. 13 b. O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 65.

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 60.—*Spelman.*

By the decision of the Irish Bishops one is reminded of the supernatural views of the "Gesta Dei per Francos", in the ages of faith.

† "Hanmer, p. 237, says: "Roderick, distrusting the northern forces, dismissed them". On what grounds, then, Leland says that Roderick was prevented from saving his country by the cowardice of the clergy, I am at a loss to discover.

ponds to the southern part of Kildare county.* His father was at enmity with the cruel Dermot M'Murrough. To the latter young Lorcan, at the age of ten years, was given as a hostage. From the cruelty of M'Murrough he suffered much. Lorcan's or Laurence's father having threatened the life of some soldiers of M'Murrough unless our young saint was set free, effected his release from M'Murrough. Without delay the freed captive was put under the tuition of the Abbot of Glendaloch. From an early age Laurence showed an inclination to the ecclesiastical state. He exhibited in his life, under the instruction of the successor of St. Kevin, a bright example of every virtue. At the age of twenty-five, on the death of the successor of St. Kevin, he was appointed to succeed to the Abbacy of Glendaloch. The charities of the saint were unbounded. Having exhausted all that the monastery supplied, he drew on his paternal inheritance. And though, some time before this, his humility refused the Bishopric of Glendaloch, his obedience consented to succeed to the vacant see of Dublin. However, notwithstanding his election in 1161, he could not be prevailed on to receive consecration till the next year. While princely in his entertainment of others, himself practised the severest austerities. He daily fed hundreds of the poor for many years.† He was incessant in prayer; he took the discipline; he was so rigid in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, that, though possessed of faculties himself, he sent for absolution to Rome‡ many grievous sinners.

* For the extent of O'Toole's principality, vid. Donovan's *Four Masters*, to whose copy I shall refer in my quotations.

† Vid. Father O'Hanlon's interesting and learned *Life of St. Laurence O'Toole.*

‡ Centum et quadraginta ecclesiasticos incontinentes, ex maxima parte Anglicos.

He endeavoured to obtain favourable terms for his countrymen while besieged. In the meantime a breach was effected. In rushed the besiegers, carrying destruction and death to all quarters. St. Laurence ran about among the dying, dragged them from under the heel of the foe, received their confession, and obtained for them decent burial. Like the good shepherd, he exposed himself to danger for the flock committed to his charge. Such was the respect extorted from the enemy in the insolence of triumph by his high character, that he succeeded in preserving the sacred books, the vessels, and vestments of the churches. After this, St. Laurence neither despaired of his country nor slackened his efforts for its liberation. Employing the great influence naturally attaching to such a name as his, he prevailed on the surrounding princes to forget their mutual differences, to turn their attention to the shocking outrages and atrocities committed by the strangers, and to unite in blockading Dublin. The consequence was that the enemy reduced to sore straits proposed terms of capitulation. Nothing short of a clear riddance of the invaders from the country would satisfy St. Laurence.* However, the careless manner in which the Irish carried on the siege did them but little credit. The invaders, taking advantage of the neglect of their opponents, and animated by the courage of despair, made a successful sally, cut their way through, and routed the Irish forces.

And when by and by further resistance appeared useless, St. Laurence spared no pains to gain terms favourable as well to the interests of Ireland as to the dignity of its last monarch. In order to the fulfilment of those terms he took many journeys. For

* Leland, p. 38, vol. I.

this purpose he attended a Council at Windsor. He introduced and richly endowed the regular canons of St. Augustine.* While attending the Council at Lateran in 1179, he so warmly pleaded the cause of the country that without delay he was appointed legate to Ireland. All the churches of Dublin and those of his suffragans were so taken under the immediate protection of the Holy See, that they may not for the future be molested by laic or ecclesiastic. The instrument granting such privileges, and dated on the 12th of the Kalends of May and on the 12th of the indiction, was levelled as well against the king as the sacrilegious invaders.† The king, annoyed either at the privileges granted to the Irish Church, or at the importunity with which St. Laurence urged the fulfilment of the terms made with King Roderick O'Connor, forbad, in 1180, the return of St. Laurence to Ireland. He returned to Eu, in Normandy. Depression of spirits preying on an exhausted frame produced fever. Having discharged his duty as a churchman and patriot, having practised every virtue, worked miracles, given hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, and life to the dead, he departed this life on a Saturday, November the 14th, in the year 1180. He was

* With several churches he gave the mill near the bridge, the fish-pond with tithes of salmon, and all other fish on either side the waterfall of Analiff.—*Records of Christ Church.*

† An indiction is a place which a year holds in a cycle of 15 years. The indiction is supposed to have commenced in 312. At least it was in use at the Council of Nice in 325. The Roman indiction began either on the 25th December or on the 1st of January. The Cæsarean indiction began on the 24th of September. The Constantinopolitan began on the 1st of September. Calculations were founded sometimes on the former, and sometimes on the latter. *Art de verifier dates.* Cabassutius, *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, p. 33. Before the introduction of Arabic numbers, which did not take place till after the 10th century, indictions were useful in fixing dates.

canonized on the 3rd of the Ides* of December, 1225,† by Honorius III.

Henry the Second, jealous of the power acquired by his subject adventurers in Ireland, and anxious to maintain and improve their conquests made for the last two years, set sail from England, and in October 1171, landed at Waterford. At Dublin, where several of the princes came to do him homage, Henry spent the Christmas. In the beginning of the next year, for the purpose of fulfilling the conditions on which he claimed and received a bull for the invasion of Ireland from Pope Adrian the Fourth some fifteen years before,‡ Henry wished to have the bishops convened in synod. And considering how comparatively little was to be corrected by the Pope's legate in 1152 at the Council of Kells, and what efforts had been made since then in the cause of morality and of

* To know the day of the month from the bulls and other documents written in Latin, it is necessary to observe that the month was divided into Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Kalends fell on the first day of the month. The Nones generally fell on the fifth of the month; but in the months of May, March, July, and October, they fell on the seventh of the month. The Ides, in the latter four months, fell on the fifteenth; but generally they fell on the thirteenth of the month. In calculating, instead of looking forward from the Kalends to the Nones, and from the Nones to the Ides, one counted backwards. A day of the Kalends (say the fifth) meant a day (suppose the fifth) *before* the Kalends. Then in dealing with the Nones and Ides, a person by counting back and adding one to the number, but adding two when dealing with the Kalends, found the day of the month—thus, the 3rd of the Ides of December is three days before the Ides; and as the Ides fell on the 13th in December, one added makes them the 14th of December. Three days then substracted from 14 make 11: so the 11th of December is the 3rd day of the Ides of December.

† Ussher's *Sylloge*, Ep. 48.—Dr. Lanigan, following Messingham, quotes the Bullarium for the year 1226. But the Bullarium dates the Canonization at the year 1225.—Vid. vol. ii., p. 242.

‡ *Liber Munerum.*—The bull was granted at the end of the year 1154 (Ussher says in 1155), but was not brought home by John of Salisbury to England till 1155.

discipline, the bull will be perused with curiosity by the reader of the present day.*

"Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sends greeting and the apostolic benediction.

"Your magnificence has been careful and studious how you may enlarge the Church of God here on earth, and increase the number of saints and elect in heaven; inasmuch as, like a good Catholic king, by all means you labour to enlarge God's Church by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and by abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness, And as you claim for your furtherance the help of the Apostolic See (wherein you do more speedily and discreetly proceed), we hope God will send you the better success; for all they who from a fervent zeal and love of religion begin and undertake anything, shall, no doubt, in the end, have a good and prosperous issue. And as for Ireland, and all other islands in which Christ is known, and the Christian religion is received, it is beyoud all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, that they all belong of right to St. Peter and to the Church of Rome.

"And we are the more willing to sow the acceptable seed of God's Word, as we know that the same will, in the latter days, be most surely required at our hands. Well-beloved son in Christ, you have signified unto us your will to enter into the land of Ireland in order to bring the people to obedience to the law and to you, and to root from among them foul sins and wickedness; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter;† and moreover to defend and

* Vid. App. A.

† The value of the denarius or penny varied in different ages.

keep inviolate the rights of the Churches. Therefore, approving of this your goodly disposition and commendable zeal, we do accept and ratify this your petition; and grant that, for the increasing of God's Church, the correction of sin, and the increase of the Christian religion, you may enter that land, and there execute, according to your wisdom, whatever shall be for the honour of God and the safety of the realm. And, further, we do strictly charge and require that all the people of that land, with an humble dutifulness and reverence, do receive and accept you as their liege lord; reserving the right of holy Church to be inviolably preserved, also the yearly pension of Peter pence out of every house, which we require to be truly accounted for to St. Peter and the Church of Rome. If, therefore, you intend to bring your goodly purpose into effect, endeavour to reform the people to some better order and trade of life, as well by yourself as by such others as you shall think meet, true and honest in lives, manners, and conversation, to the end the Church of God may be beautified, the Christian religion sown and established, and that all things be done to God's honour and to the salvation of souls. By these means you

The denarius sometimes meant an ounce of silver (*Bingham*, book 5, chapter iii.). About the time of the Emperor Nero it was worth nine pence; it was worth seven pence in the time of Constantine (Paucton, *Metrologie*). The pound of silver was coined into 240 pennies; each penny weighed 22½ troy grains: twelve of these pennies weighed 270 grains, and passed for a shilling. The silver penny, then, at the invasion of Ireland, was equal to four or five shillings of our money. Payment of Peter pence was not unusual in other countries. Charlemagne is said to have ordered a penny from every house in Gaul to be paid to the Roman Church. So too are the Gothic kings said to have possessed Spain on condition of paying tribute to the Roman Church. Peter pence were paid in Poland and Bohemia.—See *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. 2, p. 349, edited by the Rev. M. Kelly, Maynooth, for the Celtic Society; and for the various kinds of *denarius*, see *Du Cange, sub voce.*

may receive in the end, from God's hands, the reward of everlasting life; and, in the meantime, in this life you may bear a glorious name and renown among all nations".*

This remarkable document bears much not only on the Irish Church but even on all mediæval society. That the Popes claimed the power of disposing of kingdoms, and actually exercised the power to the best interests of society, without adding to their own dominions, is one of the best established facts in history.†

The exercise of such power comes before us in reference to the kingdoms of Germany, of France, of England, and of Ireland. On what principles this power was exercised, even with regard to the Irish Church, historians do not agree among themselves. Some base it on the supposed donation of Constantine.‡ Some, too, attribute it to the right divine claimed for Popes, of disposing of all the kingdoms of the earth. Others account for the exercise of such authority in the Roman Pontiff, not by the *direct* but by the *indirect* temporal power which belonged to them by divine right. By such indirect power the Popes could interfere in the kingdoms of this world only where God's glory or the salvation of souls required interference. Then, too, the theory which claimed for the Popes a directive power had many supporters. According to the supporters of this

* Cherubini, *Bullarium Romanum*, p. 351. Mat. Paris, *Historia Major*. Ussher, *Sylloge*, Ep. 46.

† De Maistre *on the Pope*, and Gosselin *on the power of the Pope during the middle ages*. Though I am indebted to him for many interesting facts, I cannot come to the same conclusion with him from these facts, especially in reference to the bull of Adrian IV.

‡ Natalis Alexander and Baronius in the *Critica of Pagi*, with many other Catholic historians, have proved the donation by Constantine to the Popes of all the kingdoms of the West to be a fiction.

theory, the Pope stands somehow in the same relation to all Christendom in which a bishop in his diocese stood to his people. And as the bishop may be supposed in all cases of conscience, in all matters affecting morality, to have been consulted and listened to, so was the Pope consulted by the Christian world. Hence, according to them, the extraordinary power of the Popes. Very many writers explain the Papal power by the constitutional law of the times. By this constitutional law there was an implied compact between the princes and the people that sovereignty was given to princes subject to the direction of the Pope. If the latter judged that there had been a violation of the contract by the prince, or that he deserved excommunication, the sentence of excommunication was launched. Whoever did not release himself from that excommunication within a year was deposed. Princes and people carried the sentences of the Popes into execution. Except those to whose prejudice for the moment the Papal power was exercised, none resisted it.

But, to my mind, no one of these theories will explain the terms on which the temporal power in every case was claimed and exercised by the Popes. Each individual exercise of power was founded on some solid principle. Sometimes the power derived a sanction from a variety of motives. Without admitting for a moment the donation of Constantine,* we may reasonably agree with those who say that he felt jealous of that great moral power of the Popes which overshadowed the imperial power. Emperors themselves added to and sanctioned that power. About 540, Justinian empowered the Patri-

* Faith in the donation of Constantine was not given before the ninth, nor sapped before the fifteenth century.

arch Paul to pronounce on the fitness of persons for office, and gave him authority over dukes and the governors of Egypt. In course of time the Patriarch had a voice in the appointment even of the Emperor. What wonder, then, that the Pope, by his connexion with and influence on all Christendom, should have found himself possessed of power, even in temporal matters, greater than what was enjoyed by the mightiest potentate? Then came donations to the holy see, the breaking up of the Western Empire, the consequent accumulation of power in the hands of the Popes, the supposed donation of Constantine, and the constitutional law of Europe. Notions of jurisprudence were tinged by feudal feelings. All Christendom was assimilated to one grand fief held of God in the person of the Pope. And whoever was guilty of rebellion to the Pope was deemed guilty of the worst of treason. Hence, in 1059, a form of oath was given by Pope Nicholas to Robert Guiscard. By that oath, an annual pension was promised to the Church of Rome for the land of Sicily.* At one time the Pope made over England to Philip Augustus. On another occasion the Pope threatened to deprive the latter of his kingdom, if he did not make peace with King Richard. The Merovingian dynasty was changed on a decision by Pope Zachary.† A Pope gave to the Duke of Anjou, brother of King Louis, the kingdom of Sicily, deposed the King of Arragon, preached up a crusade against Venice for her rebellion, and deposed the Emperor Frederick. During his deposition his dominions were applied for to the Pope by the Eastern Emperor. But Frederick asked and received pardon

* *Baronius*, tom. xi. n. 70, ad. an. 1059.

† The decision was simply a solution of a case of conscience.

in 1177, and recovered his kingdom. And then again, in reply to threats from the Pope, Henry IV. denied that, unless swerving from the faith, he could be deprived of his kingdom. In the year 1155, Pope Adrian wrote to Frederick the First to repress abuses and impiety. A few years after he wrote again, and exhorted him to renounce his errors, and renounce all pretensions to ecclesiastical property in Lombardy, otherwise he would forfeit "the crown, received from himself and through his unction".* In the year 1219, Reginald, King of Man, offers the island to the Holy See, and receives it back as a fee, promising to pay 12 marks a year.† This circumstance would countenance the supposition of some, that in the century immediately preceding the grant of Adrian, Ireland had been subjected by Donogh O'Brien, in Rome, so far as he could do so, as a fief to the Holy See.

All these instances of power exercised are not to be explained on any single theory. Those who were most forward in acknowledging the power vested in the Pope by the constitutional law of the kingdom, resisted it when exercised against themselves. In the year 1169, Henry the Second, when ordered by the Pope to be reconciled with the Archbishop of Canterbury, swore by God's eyes that he would not obey;‡ yet the same king, as we learn from Adrian's bull, acknowledged in the Pope a right to dispose of kingdoms.

Notwithstanding a different opinion entertained by others, I cannot avoid concluding that the right in the Pope of disposing of Ireland was attributed by

* Labbe, tom. x. p. 1149.

† Theiner, *Vet. Mon.* ad an.

‡ *Epis. Sti. Thom.* Ep. 61.

Henry and acquiesced in by the Pope to the power of the Keys. The opinion which traced the temporal power of the Popes to divine right, was entertained by most respectable writers in the time of Henry II. The very man who obtained from the Pope the grant of Ireland for Henry—John of Salisbury—was the great advocate of this opinion.* John at the same time appeared to justify the act of Pope Adrian by the supposed donation of Constantine. But while John of Salisbury speaks of the donation, and Henry, as far as we can judge from the Pope's bull, appealed to the power of the Keys, the Pope might have justified himself as well by the indirect temporal power which could be called into action for the good of the Church, as by the constitutional law of the age.

As the authenticity of Adrian's letter has been questioned from time to time, and especially in modern times, it may be well then, before proceeding any further, to offer such remarks as will put its authenticity beyond any reasonable doubt. And in doing so I will first of all notice the objections brought forward by the impugners of the Papal Bull or letter.† 1st, They insist that John of Salisbury who obtained the Bull for the English monarch, in alluding to it, says that the Pope's letter testifies to the grant *to the present day*, and that in this last sentence there is a proof of its being written long after the time of John of Salisbury, and of the whole letter being a forgery. But it can very fairly be said that John of Salisbury could naturally have used the

* *Gosselin*, II., p. 360, edited by Rev. Father M. Kelly, Maynooth College.

† It is with regret I have to differ from an illustrious writer in the November no., 1872, in the *Ir. Eccles. Record*, who has done more for the Church History of Ireland than any man since the days of Colgan.

phrase *to the present day*, after the death of the Pope, and mean that though the Pope no longer lived to corroborate what he related, yet the Papal letter still existed to vouch for the accuracy of the statement. Besides, he says* that the letter of grant had been placed during the Pope's life-time in English archives.

2ndly, Stress is laid on the fact that copies of the Bull of Adrian and the confirmatory brief of Alexander III. are dated from Rome, whereas it is maintained the former was issued at Beneventum, and the latter at Tusculum. But if others blundered in not adverting that Adrian had been from Rome when granting the Bull, for this John of Salisbury, whose veracity solely is in question, should not be held responsible, as he distinctly says in his *Polycraticus* that the Papal court was held at Beneventum when he obtained the Bull. The same may be said of the brief of Alexander III. More than that, some

* Omnibus ille bonis flebilis occidit, sed nulli flebilior quam mihi.

Cum enim matrem haberet ac fratrem uterinum, me quam illis arctiori diligebat affectu. Fatebatur et publice et secreto quod me præ omnibus mortalibus diligebat.

Et cum Romanus Pontifex esset, me in propria mensa gaudebat habere convivam et eundem scypham et discum sibi et mihi volebat et faciebat, me renitente, esse communem. Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum, Henrico Secundo concessit et dedit Hiberniam jure hæriditario possidendam sicut Literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernam diem. Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum smaragdo optimo decoratum quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hybernia : idem que adhuc annulus in curiali archio publico custodiri jussus est.

Theobaldus in ægritudinem incidit. . . . . Anxiatur ergo undique in me spiritus meus et cruciatus quos patior non sufficio enarrare. *Metalogicus*, lib. 4. ch. ch. xlii. (et ultimus).

And Giraldus Cambrensis writes, "Per quem Idem Papa Anglorum Regi annulum aureum in investituræ signum præsentavit : qui *statim* simul cum privilegio in archivis Wintoniæ repositus fuerat"—Giral. Camb. *Expugn. Hib.*, lib. 2. cap. 6.

maintain that Alexander* confirmed Adrian's grant actually in Rome, and that by and by, seeing the murder of St. Thomas A' Becket, he repented of it.

And even though it be admitted that in the process of transcription Rome was mentioned as the place whence the letter and brief had been dated, being the usual place of residence of the Popes, yet such an error of the transcriber should not affect the body of the documents. Thus though there has been a diversity of opinion as to the place in which the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians and to Timothy had been written,† no one from that circumstance argued against their authenticity and inspiration.

3rdly, It is stated that Adrian's letter has disappeared. But, surely, more recent documents from one cause or another have not survived the ravages of accident or time. Sir James Ware tells us that a grant of Leinster was made to Strongbow after surrendering to King Henry any claims derived from conquest or marriage with Eva, Dermot M'Murrough's daughter; and that King John by and by‡ confirmed it by another grant, once in the Tower of London, to William Mareschal, married to Strongbow's daughter, but that the original grant is not extant. Now if its non-appearance does not lead to the supposition of its not having been ever in existence, much less should the disappearance of Pope Adrian's letter, alluded to by Pope Alexander in a few years subsequently,

* Chevalier Artaud, *Lives of the Popes.*

† Many Greek MSS. maintain that the Epistle to the Thessalonians was written from Athens, and that of Timothy from Laodicea, whereas they are more generally said to have been respectively written from Corinth and from Macedonia.

‡ In the 4th of King John.

destroy the supposition of its existence once on a time.

4thly, It is objected that if the Bull had been granted in 1154 it is strange that it was not produced till the year 1175. In reply it can be said that the Bull was not talked of, because it did not suit King Henry to act on it. Henry by his marriage acquired the territory of Aquitaine, of Anjou, and Normandy, and was to succeed to the English crown on the death of Stephen. That death occurred in November 1154, while Henry was laying siege to the castles held by rebels against him in Normandy. The descendants of Stephen disputed the title of Henry to the English throne, and it was only when both contending armies were ready to fight that Henry suggested that the nephews of Stephen would be allowed to succeed himself if they consented to his accession.

At this time too, Adrian, an Englishman, succeeded to the Papal throne; and King Henry wrote congratulating him and England on his accession, asking for succour for Constantinople and the Holy Land, and in urging him to appoint worthy ministers, gave occasion to his polished envoy of asking or obtaining the letter of grant from Adrian. The King had work enough on hands in watching the jealous attitude of his nephews at home, and the armed attempts of his subjects on the continent, without thinking of Ireland; and yet we are told that in 1155, at Michaelmas, he proposed to his barons the invasion of Ireland, but was dissuaded by the Empress mother.*

5thly, It is objected that John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicus* speaks of Henry's right to Ireland as *hereditary*, whereas there is no mention of such a right in the Bull. But any person can see that,

* Ussher's *Sylloge*, *Nicholas Trivettus*.

though not expressly mentioned in the letter of grant, the hereditary right was fairly inferred by John of Salisbury, as we cannot suppose that King Henry would have ventured on conquest without a view to family aggrandizement.

Then it is scarcely worthy a remark, the objection that the learned Ussher questioned the proofs relied on by others in favour of the Bull, or that Gerald Barry speaks of some as doubting it, since both Barry and Ussher believed in the existence of the Bull.

6thly, It is asserted that no Irish document alludes to the grant. I answer that it is not so, and shall give proof of it by and by.

7thly, The last and weakest objection against the grant is a manuscript said to be in the Barberini Library at Rome. It is represented as containing a petition presented in the year 1325 by the Precentor and Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and forwarded by the Lord Justiciary and Royal Council in Dublin. The complaint of the petition was that people "commonly asserted that King Henry obtained the land of Ireland on the strength of false representations and Bulls".* Now this would rather prove the existence of the Papal grant. For the complainants were certain of it, and the matter of complaint was that others said they did not believe in it. Are we as sure that the others did not believe in the Bull, as that the complainants did believe in it? Besides we know how these others in a few years subsequently admitted the existence of the Bull and complained of its results. Furthermore, it is to be observed, the petition states that the common belief that the grant

*"Asserentes etiam Dominum Regem Angliæ falsa suggestione et ex falsis Bullis terram Hiberniæ in dominium impetrasse et communiter hoc tenentes",—Vid. *I. E. Record* for November, 1872.

of Ireland was obtained not by a forged Bull, but "by false suggestions and false Bulls". False suggestions prove that there were some suggestions, as false Bulls prove that there was a Bull of some kind. The Bull was false when embodying or founded on false suggestions. In this sense O'Sullivan Beare understood it when he says "that the Bull was obtained by false statements".*

The Saxon Chronicle speaks of the grant; Matthew Paris, Trivettus, Gerald Barry, O'Sullivan Beare, Ussher, Keating,† Dowling,‡ and a host of others maintain the reality of the Bull of Adrian.

If there were no other uncorroborated witness but John of Salisbury, he would be sufficient to vouch for the existence of the grant. There is not the least reason to suppose that John would sacrifice his conscience for the sake of the Bull or King Henry. Anxious as he might be to please Henry so far as was consistent with conscience, he did not hesitate to break with him on occasion of the quarrel with St. Thomas A' Becket.§ In writing to the Prior of Kent, William, John recommended the spiritual sword to be drawn and excommunication hurled against the king. When, then, John of Salisbury assures us that himself procured the famous grant for the king,‖ and, as was usual, received a gold ring as a sign of investiture, we cannot reasonably suppose that he lied to prop up the claim of the king against whom at the

* "Impetratam narrans falsa".—*Cathol. Hist.*

† Keating, in maintaining the Bull, denies any necessity for it.

‡ Dowling (*Annals*) speaks of the Council of Cashel as held by Henry under the authority of Popes Adrian and Alexander.

§ "Spes est Domino ut vociferatibus tubis sacerdotalibus, in proximo corruat et Hiericho", etc.—*Epist.* 210. *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

‖ *Metalogicus* (lib. iv. ch. 42).

dictate of conscience he recommended the sentence of excommunication.

Baronius states that he found the Bull of Pope Adrian in the Vatican Archives; and though it does not appear in some Bullaries at present,* it is still found in the Bullary of Cherubini. The Brief granted by Pope Alexander III. to Henry II. justifies itself by the grant made by Pope Adrian; and there had been a constant belief in the grant entertained by English and Irish down to the times of Cardinal Pole, who says distinctly it was from his too great love of country Adrian granted the Bull to Henry II.†

In the year 1221 frequent complaints had been laid before Pope Honorius III. of the encroachments made on the rights and liberty of the Church. The complainant was the Archbishop of the Province of Munster, and the person arraigned was no other than the king of England. Without detailing the several grievances complained of and the arguments put forward in support of them on the one hand, nor the special pleas of defence put in by the king on the other hand, it is worth while to note one point made by the king in justification of his conduct. The Pope, in writing to the Archbishop, gives the defence or replies of the King, who pleaded long unbroken custom since the coming in of the English into Ireland. Precedent and "custom",‡ the Pope said, "had been

* It was not uncommon to expunge an obnoxious Bull from the Bullary. The Bull of Adrian V. in 1565 against Henry of Navarre and published in Rome, is not given in the Bullarium Romanum, since Henry by and by was reconciled to the Church.

† Amore que patriæ ductus Imperium Hiberniæ quæ Pontificiæ ditionis fuerat Henrico II. Anglorum regi concessit. *In Oratione in Comitiis*, an. 1554.

‡ Etiam ex parte Regis ipsius propositum coram nobis quod ab eo tempore quo Anglici de mandato Apostolicæ Sedis intrantes Yberniam ipsam Ecclesiæ Romanæ obedientiæ subjecerunt habito

alleged on the part of the King himself as existing in his favour ever since the English, having come into Ireland by order of the Apostolic See, brought it into obedience to the Roman Church; and considering the savage state of the Irish, not to say more", etc. Well, we have here a statement made in the clearest terms of which language can admit that the English entered Ireland not only with the consent but by the directions of the Pope.

The statement is made not by an old crone, stupid soldier, or lawless knight, but by the King himself.*

And what is still more important, if possible, for our present purpose is the person to whom the statement was made. No matter how exalted the position of the person making the statement, whether principally for its own sake or parenthetically, a suspicion of a misstatement or deception might arise if it were made to any other than the Pope. If then the King was not convinced of the truth of his statement, he would have kept it from the Pope, who of all on earth was most competent to judge of its truth.

The statement of Adrian's grant is advanced within

respectu ad feritatem Yberniensium ne ulterius exprimatur etc. Theiner, *Vetera Monum.* The obedience spoken of refers to the paying of Peter's Pence and perhaps to the introduction of the Sarum Use.

* The statement made by the King in regard to the Pope's grant was purely parenthetic. No stress was laid on it. It was used, as any one can see, to define merely the length of the custom which was pleaded. The Bull or letter of Pope Adrian is taken for granted, and a single sentence is not used to establish it. It is, as observed, a mere parenthetic clause in a sentence Pope Adrian in reclaiming against the treatment an English bishop received in the Emperor Frederick's dominions, spoke of the *benefice* conferred on him, which the Emperor so resented as to order the cardinal's bearers out of his dominions. In another letter to the Emperor the Pope states that the word "benefice" should not be so understood as if the imperial crown were a "fee", but that the coronation was an act of kindness, a "benefice".

sixty years after it was made. The statement is put forward before one who was supposed to have the copy or original in his possession. Does the Pope take an opportunity of contradicting directly or indirectly the statement of the King? Not in the least; and, surely, considering the attack on the personal liberty of the Archbishop and the encroachments on the property and privileges of the Church, of which he complained, the Pope would have felt bound to deny the statement of the King if untrue, and prevented such outrages being alleged as occasioned by any apostolic mandate. The King and Pope were the two most interested, unexceptional witnesses to the grant of a letter or Bull by Adrian IV. One was heir to him who received the grant of Ireland; the other was successor to the grantor, and probably had the original of the granting document. The testimony of either as to the existence of the document is the very best to be looked for, and should be decisive of all controversy on the matter; but when we find both testify, one directly and the other no less eloquently though tacitly, to the reality of the Bull, there can remain no reasonable doubt as to its existence.

Hence, though there should have been no trace of any form of Bull or letter from Adrian nor any subsequent evidence corroborative of its existence, the testimony of the King and Pope at that time and under such circumstances would put the matter beyond even a shade of doubt.

At the close of the century an incident turns up which exhibits the continued belief entertained and professed in the Bull of Pope Adrian. One of the Janvilla Norman family determined to marry a lady with whom he was connected by blood within the forbidden degrees, and so had to apply for a dispen-

sation to the Pope of the day. The lady belonged to the then wealthy family of Leo, and native of Meath. The Pope grants the dispensation, and in doing so gives us the ground on which young Janvilla's father applied for the dispensation. The reply or grant of Nicholas IV., for he was the pope, was addressed not to the father but to the son, and ran as follows :—

"The petition of the noble Galfrid Janvilla, your father, Symon, stated that whereas Ireland and its inhabitants, as is believed, paid no obedience to the Apostolic See, nor to the King of England, but led a life of unbridled licentiousness, Henry, one time King of England of illustrious memory, invaded with an army and with the consent of that See, the said country, and brought it with its inhabitants, according to the best of his power, in subjection to him and to the same See: and that the said king and his successors in course of time studied to send worthy countrymen of their own into Ireland, in order to perpetuate the obedience to the Apostolic See. Among such worthy persons sent over was Galfrid, who having acquired considerable territory by marriage with a noble lady of Irish birth, has striven to carry out the intentions of the English kings, as well by keeping the people to the forementioned obedience, as by anxiously maintaining peace amongst them.

"But to attain these ends the more effectually, he and his sons, who it is to be hoped will usefully succeed him, require the aid of many relatives and friends; and as these can be secured only by intermarriage with the powerful of the province, most of whom are related to said sons within the forbidden degrees, and as marriage is contemplated between Johanna Leo, a noble lady and backed by many relatives, and you Symon, the said noble Galfrid humbly petitioned on his own part, and on both your parts,

for a dispensation in the fourth degree of consanguinity; which dispensation we grant, as by marriages between the parties devotion to God and the Apostolic See will be increased, and serious losses to souls and bodies avoided".*

Here, again, we see a belief in the bull or grant of Adrian maintained not by the poor and ignorant credulous, but by the nobles of the land. The existence of the grant is spoken of as a matter of course and before the Pope, who was supposed to be equally certain of its existence. On the strength of this a request is made of the Pope. Does the Pope refuse the request? or, in granting it, does he question wholly or in part the grounds of the application? Not at all. The dispensation was sought with a view solely of securing the ends for which the bull was originally granted,† and the Pope grants the dispensation for the furtherance of these ends.

There are several statements in this document with which, as Irishmen or historians, we cannot be disposed to agree. Many might question whether the licentiousness of the Irish had been as lawless and savage as stated. Most people would doubt whether those sent by Henry and his immediate successors were those from whom the Irish might take lessons of "modesty and honour".‡ Some disposed to quibble

* Theiner, *Veter. Monum*, ad an. 1290: "Cum terra Yberniæ ac ejus incolæ, ut tenentur, nec sedi eidem (apostolicæ) nec regi Angliæ obedirent, sed velut effrenes, per campum licentiæ ducerentur, claræ memoriæ Henricus olim rex Anglorum de voluntate sedis ipsius armata manu terram predictam intravit et eam ac habitatores ipsius ad ejusdem sedis obedientiam sua quæ pro posse reduxit".

† "Intentionem eorumdem Regum studuit et ad huc studet per se ac suos pro viribus adimplere incolos ipsos in obedientia retinendo predictos et pacem inter eos solicite conservando. Quia vero ad hæc efficacius", &c.

‡ Viros probros.

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would remark that in the present instance the king is said to have come at the *wish* of the Holy See; whereas, in a document previously addressed by the king himself, Henry II. is said to have come at the command of the Apostolic See.

There are some who judge that the English monarchs did not come to Ireland purely for the exaltation of the Holy See and the prevention of the Irish from cutting each other's throats. And though Mr. Janvilla, in applying for a dispensation, states that he has in view only those worthy ends of his royal master, one is allowed to judge that he was not insensible to the broad lands, wealth, and charms of lady Leo. But making all possible allowances for the suppressions or inaccuracies of the document, can any impartial historian, can any candid reader fail to see the plain statement made to the Pope, and admitted by him without rebuke or question—the grant of Adrian to Henry II.?*

* Though the letter found its way subsequently into the *Bullarium*, yet it is not certain that the original existed at that time. There have been instances of bulls or grants being destroyed where the conditions on which the privileges contained in them had not been fulfilled (vid. *Theiner, passim*), or when subsequent events rendered it impolitic to parade them. Unless care had been taken to have the original renewed, it probably disappeared by the end of the 13th century, if it ever found its way into the Vatican archives. We see that a grant made by Celestine III., between the years 1191 and 1198, became almost illegible in the course of 150 years. It regarded ample privileges given to the canons of Trim; and because it throws light on the history of the period, I give its substance: In 1395, Gregory XI., in renewing the privileges in behalf of St. Mary's, Trim, of the Augustinian order, according to the Aroasian institute, "guarantees the lands and rights of their several possessions". . . . . No one was to exact tithes of the young which they were to rear themselves at their own expense, or of the nourishment of animals. They were at liberty to receive clerics or free laics who wished to leave the world, and retain them, but that none could leave them without permission of the Abbot unless

Coming to the next century, we find the same belief entertained and expressed in regard to the letter of Adrian. The Irish, smarting under the foreign yoke that galled more sorely than on previous occasions, wrote to Pope John XXII. in order that he would use his good offices in obtaining a mitigation of their galling slavery. The letter of

for a stricter order, and that, should they go, none could receive them. The brethren, during a general interdict, may celebrate the divine offices with closed gates in a low tone, bells unrung, and excluding the excommunicated and interdicted. No archbishop or bishop was to hold meetings in the monastery without leave of the superior, nor handle any cause there without sanction from the Pope or his legate. Even to an archbishop or secular all exactions are forbidden, and no claim to tithes should be put forward, not heard of up to this; and leave is given for redeeming these tithes and possessions belonging to the Church at present enjoyed by laics. All tithes claimed by them for 40 years are confirmed to the monastery. Free right of burial is asserted, so that all who wish might be buried, unless the excommunicated and the interdicted, saving the rights of the church from which the corpses are taken out. On the death of the present abbot or successor, no one, by craft or violence, can be proposed to succeed unless recommended by common consent of the wiser portion under the influence of God's fear, and according to the rule of St. Austin. No one was to enter, attack, or burn, or kill, or offer any violence to any within their grange And should any violate this constitution, lay or clerical, and not make ample atonement when warned two or three times, let him be degraded from his power and honour, and let him be a stranger (alienus) to the most sacred body and blood of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and in the extreme risk of divine vengeance".

Then the good Pope goes on to say what has introduced us to this matter: "This is the tenor of a privilege granted by Pope Celestine III., fortified by the signatures and usual seals of same, and of some bishops, priests, and deacons (cardinals) who then lived, which now begins to be consumed from age, and which we have caused to be examined; and without the aforesaid signatures or seals, have caused it, at your instance, to be compared with this present. The friars of Trim said that all their possessions mentioned by name were put under the protection of the Apostolic See, with their waters and fish-ponds, mills and revenues, and the bull of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and they appealed to this document.

remonstrance was addressed to the Apostolic Nuncios Gaucelin and Luke, the former, Cardinal Priest of St. Marcellinus; the latter, Cardinal Deacon of St. Mary's in *via lata*. The letter of remonstrance was sent to the Pope. Pope John, with the view of obtaining redress for the Irish, writes to King Edward, King of England. In giving the substance of the letter from the Irish, the Pope says: "Among other statements in the letter, we saw, that whereas Pope Adrian of blessed memory, our predecessor, granted the Lordship of Ireland to Henry, King of England, your predecessor, under certain conditions, as is more clearly set forth in the Apostolic letters, yet the king and his successors up to the present did not observe, but violated the said form and conditions."* Now this letter was addressed to the illustrious and learned Pope John XXII. It was addressed not by the English or Anglo-Normans but by the Irish; not by a few nor a section, but by the Irish people headed by their chiefs. Would they one and all have combined to confirm Adrian's donation of Ireland if they had not been unquestionably convinced of the truth of the statement? Would not these brave chieftains have consented to burn their fingers rather than affix their signatures knowingly to a false statement addressed to the common Father of the Faithful? They who were determined to appeal to arms in the event of their grievances being not redressed, and who by-and-by did fly to arms, would it not be natural to suppose they would have denied the existence of

* In quorum serie vidimus inter cætera contineri quod cum felicis recordationis Adrianus Papa predecessor noster sub certis modo et forma distinctis apertius in apostolicis litteris inde factis clare memoriæ Henrico Regi Angliæ progenitori tuo dominium Yberniæ conce sit, ipse Rex ac successores ipsius Regis Angliæ usque ad hæ tempora non servantes modum et formam hujus modi, quinimo transgredientes".—Theiner, ad an. 1318, p. 361.

Adrian's letter, if there was the least ground for so doing? Because, even supposing they felt justified in throwing off allegiance on the violation of the conditions on which it had been promised, yet it were a safer and readier course to scout the idea of any grant being made, if it were possible to do so. In fact, unless we suppose the Irish differently constituted from others, we should think they were more open to the suspicion of denying Adrian's letter and its consequent obligation on them, even though it was a reality, than that they should for a moment admit it without necessity.

And indeed some few who deny the existence of the grant appeal to a statement to this effect said to have been made by some of the Irish. Those who lean on a straw will catch at anything. They will cling to their opinion, though the body of the nation assert the reality of the grant, on the supposed denial of the grant by a few. Those who seek a reason for their opinions on contradictory grounds, are influenced not by argument, but by preconceived theories. Whether you pipe or whether you dance, they will not be charmed out of their humour. Here we have the Irish people and their leaders, the English Monarchs and their Barons with their followers, all agreeing, no matter how opposed on every other subject, on the grant of Adrian; and that belief they maintained generation after generation before each succeeding Pontiff who acquiesced in it; and are we or any person in the nineteenth century to say that they did not know what they were doing?

That keen-sighted energetic Pontiff, John XXII., wrote to his Nuncio to help him out in giving effect to the conditions prescribed by Pope Adrian's grant, and thus gave a practical proof of his belief in the grant.

At the very time of which we are treating, the King of England promised in the year 1317, to pay 24,000 marks as arrears for the kingdoms of England and Ireland during the twenty-four preceding years.* In hate and love, in peace and war, in every phase of their chequered history, the English and Irish people, the English and Irish Churches, successive generations of Popes acted on the belief of the grant by Pope Adrian.

Coming down to the Reformation, we find another document in the Roman archives, bearing most materially on the question in hand. It is taken from the Corsini Library, Rome.† Had there been no other it would be quite sufficient for our purpose. In the year 1558, on the 7th June, there was held a Consistorial sitting, and then the following decree was made:—"Whereas, ever since the dominion of Ireland was obtained from the Apostolic See by the

* On August 1st, 1279, Pope Nicholas III. made a reply, as appears from his letters, to a curious request made by the king. It would appear that the king proposed to the Pope, that the annual sum of 1,000 marks, in which the king was bound for Ireland, should be vested in some possessions to be possessed by some abbots and priors, and that the Pope's claim for the 1,000 marks should henceforth be made on the said priors and abbots. On the event of non-payment of the tribute, for the payment of which they were to be sufficiently endowed, the king undertook in co operation with the Pope to compel payment. The proposal was made through John Derlenton, of the Dominican Order.

The proposal was not pleasing to the Pope, who, in reply, said that having conferred with his brethren, he judged the proposal to be in all likelihood neither advantageous to the king, nor creditable to the Apostolic See. The Pope, therefore, proposes to make no change "in what had been so long and so solemnly done in regard to the tribute by the predecessors both of the Pope and of the king".—*Calendar of Rolls* by Sweetman. Papal Bulls of Nich. IV.

† Vid. Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 298

"S. D. N. Erexit insulam Hiberniæ cujus ab eo tempore quo dominium per Sedem Apostolicam adepti sunt reges Angliæ qui pro tempore fuerunt se dominos tantum nuncupare consueverant".

kings of England, they had always styled themselves only lords of Ireland, till Henry VIII., after breaking away from the unity of the Catholic Church and the obedience of the Roman Pontiff, usurped the kingly title, by virtue of a law pretended to be enacted by the Parliament of the island, and his son Edward VI. acted in like manner, bearing themselves as kings of England, our most holy Lord has raised Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom, like the neighbouring islands, without prejudice to the rights of any other person pretending to have a title to it, and has endowed it with all the kingly privileges, rights, and insignia enjoyed by other Christian Kingdoms".

In the other documents produced in evidence of the famous letter of Adrian, the Popes only tacitly admitted, but in the above document they positively assert its existence. The English monarchs with their barons and nobles, the Irish chieftains and their followers again and again assert their conviction of the reality of Adrian's grant, and the Pope, though tacitly admitting it, only quotes their words; here, however, the Pope positively asserts the grant of Ireland by the Apostolic See. He states that Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were guilty of usurpation in assuming the kingly title over Ireland, and that they should have been content with the title of Lord of Ireland, not having received any other title from the Holy See.

If there were no other document than this, it were sufficient to establish the certainty of Pope Adrian's grant.

While foreign and Continental documents establish the grant of Adrian, domestic annals are not silent on the matter. By them we are assured that "when Pope Adrian heard openly of the sinful and evil life that the people of Ireland led—worse than wild beasts,

and out of the constitution of Holy Church and right belief—he required the King that he would go into Ireland to amend their lewd lives".*

Nor are the Irish writers less emphatic than the English chroniclers in their assertion of the famous grant. From among others let the following from the famous *Leabhar Mor Duna Doighré* suffice. "The O'Annogs† and the descendants of Chelkin‡ from Kilmore, and the O'Sluasti § and the O'Gleesons, these were the persons who stole the horses and mules and asses of the Cardinal who came from Rome to Ireland with instructions in the time of the great Donald O'Brien, King of Munster: and from

* *Book of Howth,* Carew MSS. p. 71.

† O'Annogs. With the greatest possible respect I beg to differ from O'Donovan on his rendering of h. annog. It means the O'Annogs or descendants of Annog, as the h. Sluaṙchi means the O'Sluasthi. In making hannog the verb *to come*, he overlooks the dot after h, the patronymic sign, which also precedes the other names. Besides, the word ṫaníc (came), though not unlike hannog in sound, has the letter ṫ, which the other has not. I have no doubt he was mistaken.

He is equally unfortunate in reference to the *Leabhar Breac* (see *Ir. Gram*, p. 359), fol. 4. b. His reference is found not in fol. 4, but in p. 102 of the *Leabhar Breac*. "ıṙ iad ṁn ṙoɡaḋaṙ eıch", &c.

The Kelechins are represented as natives of Kilmore, in the *Leabhar Breac*. Now the Four Masters speak of Celechin, Lord of Airtheara, in the year 931, which was in the eastern barony of Armagh county; and as there was a Kilmore too in Armagh, the Kelechins were probably natives of Armagh. On his journey from Down to Dublin the Cardinal's followers may have been plundered. Very probably the O'Gleesons too were from the same locality, though the great genealogist O'Huidhrin placed them at a very early period in Imokelly.

‡ The Feliré of Aengus commemorates h. Chailchin, Donald Mac Murchad. *Leabhar Breac,* p. 90.

§ O'Donovan had but slender grounds for connecting Tulla, Clare, with the O'Sluasti. Vid. Letters, Dec. 4, 1839, on the Ordnance Survey, classed 14 B. 24. R.I.A.

that* the successor of Peter sold the rent and laws of Erin to the Saxons; and this is the right and law with the Saxons over the Irish to-day: as it is to the successor of Peter at Rome rent and rights used to go up to that, etc.†

From this entry some countenance is given to the assertion that Donogh O'Brien in the 11th century, transferred to the Holy See a claim over Ireland, though it is not alluded to in the grant of Adrian. For it is clearly stated that previous to the compact with the English monarch, not only a tribute, which was not uncommon in the shape of Peter Pence in several countries but *rent and rights* used to be paid to the successor of St. Peter out of Ireland as if a fee. Whether Pope Adrian justified himself in issuing the famous letter on more than one principle—that enunciated in the grant—it is unnecessary to inquire: and still less does it fall within the limits of this history to enquire by what right Donogh O'Brien could or did justifiably transfer it to the Holy See. But cer ain it is that writers native as well as foreign agree in maintaining the reality of the grant.

Nor is the *Leabhar Breac* the only Irish document producible in favour of the existence of Adrian's grant. Our only Irish historian, Dr. Keating, maintains it. After saying that the Pope got possession

* *From that.* Some understand by *that,* the circumstance of the insult offered to the cardinal; but this meaning cannot conveniently be attached to it. For it cannot be said that the grant of Ireland, which took place in 1154, was occasioned by an occurrence happening 22 years subsequently, unless the cardinal alluded to be understood to be Cardinal Paparo, in the the year 1152; but then he was not contemporary with Donald Mor O'Brien. Supposing then *from that* as referring to time, we are to understand the writer to mean that the grant was at that time published, and that an annual tribute, in consequence, became law in the time of Cardinal Vivian's visit to Ireland.

† Vid, Appendix (B).

of Ireland in the year 1092 from Donogh O'Brien, owing to the quarrels between the princes for sovereignty but with their consent, added "that it continued in possession of the Holy See till the time of Adrian * He bestowed the kingdom of Erin on the Second Henry, King of England.† I am very much surprised at the conditions on which Pope Adrian made the grant to Henry".

Nothing could be clearer. Dr. Keating, who believed in the existence of the grant, with native and

* The disbelievers in the Bull say if Dr. Keating be not on their side, his translator Mr. John O'Mahony, of New York, at least is with them. Mr. O'Mahony in page 634, n. 5, denies that Donogh O'Brien did or could have made over the kingdom of Ireland on the Popes, which he regarded as a *fiction:* and adds that the mention of the surrender of the crown was an *addendum to the fiction:* because he considered there had been no such emblem of royality as a crown. The fiction spoken of by him (in note 6) refers to the supposed grant by Donogh O'Brien. How unfair then to parade Mr. Mahony as speaking of the grant by Adrian as a fiction, whereas he spoke only of the fictitious grant of Donogh O'Brien to the Holy See! It must be a mere mistake on Mr. O'Mahony's part to speak, on the above matter, of the years, 1158, 1159, 1164.

† Bhfonn an Papara fioghaicht eifionn don dara henri adhon Righ Saxon. . . . . In next (page). Do nim ionghantar mor annro do Choingill dafaibhe imbulla Adrianuf Papa marar bhfonn eire don dara henri.

Oir ni gor go gcuirfeadh an Papa an choingioll na bhulla, muna gcuirtchi agceill do le dhuing eigin an oirdeam? (*recte* croideam) Do Dhul imbathadh ineifinn.—O'Mulconry's copy of Keating's MSS. T.C.D., classed H. 5, 32, so often referred to by O'Donovan in his Irish Grammar.

Dr. Keating, like the author of the *Leabhar Breac*, appears to refer the issue of the Bull of Adrian to a period subsequent to the English invasion. The latter attributes it to events connected with the coming of Cardinal Vivian in the year 1177.

Dr. Keating states the Bull was not issued till after the Synod of Cashel, when the Pope, seeing the signatures of the bishops to the promise of fealty made to Henry at the Synod of Cashel, sent a ring of investiture by John of Salisbury. But John of Salisbury assures us that in 1159 himself had received the Bull and ring which was deposited in 1155 in the public archives.—*Metalogicus*, ch. 42.

Continental writers, appears to deny only the necessity of such a grant.

Little as there was in the nature of things to justify the invasion of Ireland, there was a great deal to justify the Pope in issuing the bull. Considering the large measure of temporal power which the jurisprudence of the age sanctioned to the Papacy, and the appalling picture, laid before the Pope, of the Irish Church, it is not wonderful that the power was exercised for the reformation of this church. The country was represented as in a state of anarchy. It was divided into a number of petty chieftaincies. On the death of each chieftain the clan was apt to be divided and in arms on the choice of a tanist. The principle of hereditary succession was not firmly established. Rival competitors for the sovereignty were likely to start up, not merely in the same families, but even in different and hostile septs. It was only by valour and the strong hand the sceptre was grasped and maintained. Society for the twelfth century was represented as unhinged.

Nor were the affairs of the church looked on in a more hopeful light. Ever since the invasion of the Danes things in the Irish Church were looked on at Rome as taking a downward direction. Lanfranc and Anselm complained of the corruption of morals in Ireland. Even the bands of matrimony were described to have sat loosely on the married.* Incestuous concubinage prevailed; awful relaxation of discipline was represented to be the order of the day. At the council of Kells general action, indeed, was taken by the Irish Church for the suppression of simony and concubinage. Yet after this the Pope got

* St. Anselm says, "homines ita libere et publice suas uxore uxoribus aliorum commutant, sicut cuilibet equum equo", etc.

reason to look on parts of Ireland as no better than a Sodom. Such must be the inference from the bull of Alexander III. Nor does his information for some charges appear to have been derived from a less reliable source than the authority of Christian, Bishop of Lismore.* But while the picture of the Irish Church was drawn in the darkest colours, I cannot help thinking it was overdrawn.† That there were individual acts of crime—that some parts of the country may have exhibited only a low tone of morality—cannot be denied. However, it is not unlikely that there was generalization on too narrow a basis—that there was a general conclusion from particular premises.‡

* Alexander says, "Plerumque pervenit ad notitiam Apostolicam quod noverca a privigno et duæ sorores ab eodem carnaliter cognitæ sunt".—*Liber. Scaccarii*, vol. i., p. 45.

† It is not necessary to suppose that parts of the Irish Church at this period were much purer than the Scottish Church. In 1076, a council was held in Scotland; among other decrees it stated, "Illicita connubia inter novercas et privignos, ac inter eundem ac duos sorores non possunt sufficienter execrari". Gregory the Seventh, writing to Lanfranc, says, "Inter omnia nefas quod de Scotis audivimus, quod plerique videlicet proprias uxores non solum deserunt sed etiam vendunt omnibus modis prohibere contendat"—Mansi, *Supp. Concil*, vol. ii., p. 26.

‡ The following shows the leaning of Waterford, not only before, but after its subjection to Cashel as Metropolitical, towards the Welsh and Anglo-Norman Convents.

In 1204 the king confirms an agreement between the Convent of Bath and the Hospital of St. John, Waterford.

Peter, Master, and other Monks of the Hospital by brothers Osbert and W. sent to Bath, give their house to the Convent of Bath, and become Monks thereof. Robert Prior and the House of Bath by common living of the chapter ordain that the Infirmary in Waterford be maintained out of a tenth of the bread, meat, fish, cheese, drink, and old clothes of the Monks, brothers and sisters, and out of wearing apparel bequeathed.

Bequests made to the Infirmary shall be applied to its maintenance, but money specially bequeathed shall be appropriated to the use of the infirm; deficiencies shall be supplied out of the com-

Great stress has been laid on the representations of Archbishops Anselm and Lanfranc. The Bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick received consecration from the English Archbishop. On that account they furnished reports of the state of their dioceses to their metropolitans. But they were reports on Danish irregularities. Likewise, much has been made of St. Bernard's remarks on the life of St. Malachy.* Without denying the existence of gross abusse in the dioceses of Down and Connor, one is tempted to look on St. Bernard rather as the rhetorician than the historian. He got the materials from a correspondent in Ireland, and if they were not overwrought, they surely were tinged by the colouring of a rich fancy. This view derives some confirmation from the fact that crimes of immorality are the staple of the charge against the Irish. And when it is considered that the Irish clergy, even in the judgment of their calumniators, had been in all ages found lovers of continency and purity, and that the tendency of the Irish to respect and imitate their clergy has been remarkable,

mon substance; any excess shall be devoted to the maintenance of hospitality. Of the brethren a fourth in number, and the sisters a third shall be maintained. The religious shall have one and the same diet and habit, according to their order. A sufficiency shall be at the disposal of the Prior and the Procurator. An account of all the substance and casualties shall be rendered.

The Prior of Waterford shall be named by the Prior and Convent of Bath, and so long as he bears himself meekly and becomingly, is obedient to the Prior of Bath, and faithful and useful to each house, he shall govern his Priory.

All Monks received shall come to Bath, be professed, and promise obedience before the Prior there. Witnesses, etc.—*Charters*, 6 of John, m.—*Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, by Sweetman.

* See *Life of St. Malachy* by St. Bernard, Serm. in trans. 301, and also the learned life by Rev. John O'Hanlon, who, on completing the *Lives of the Saints*, shall deserve to be styled the Irish Bollandist.

one is at a loss to reconcile purity of morals in the clergy to a degree remarkable among the surrounding nations, with a bad pre-eminence in immorality among the Irish laics. Certain it is that without artful representations to Rome on the part of those favourable to English interests, there never had been a bull for the invasion of Ireland. Equally unquestionable is it, that if the alleged savagery of conduct in the Irish really existed, every reasonable effort to cure it deserved well of humanity and religion.

CHAPTER III.

No matter how much or how little called for was the bull of Adrian IV., it exercised but little influence on the destinies of the Irish nation. William the Conqueror and his son contemplated the invasion of Ireland. The idea of an invasion crossed Henry's mind before he applied for or received the Pope's bull. After receiving it, and before he acted on it, he laid it aside for nineteen years. And even then, when doing that for which the bull was granted, the king did not deem it necessary to lean on or appeal to the document. To make some pretence of fulfilling the conditions on which he received the bull, early in 1172 he wished to convene the bishops. They met at Cashel. There attended the Archbishops of Cashel, of Tuam, of Dublin, and their suffragans. Neither the Primate nor his suffragans, if we except one, were in attendance. Ralph, Archdeacon of Landaff, Nicholas, the king's chaplain, and other ecclesiastics represented the king. And as the decrees drawn up

at the Synod of Cashel must give a juster picture of the state of the church than any panegyric on one side or calumny on the other, they must be read with interest.

"1st—The faithful through Ireland were ordered to contract and observe lawful marriages, and to reject all marriages with relations either by blood or affinity.* 2nd—Infants were ordered to be catechized before the door of the church, and baptized in the holy font in the baptismal church. 3rd—All the faithful were commanded to pay tithes of animals, corn, and the other produce, to the church of which they are parishioners. 4thly, All ecclesiastical lands and property connected with them were declared exempt from the exactions of all laymen; and especially petty kings or counts, or powerful laymen in Ireland or their sons, were not to require, as was usual, victuals, or hospitality, or entertainment in the ecclesiastical district, or to presume to extort them by force. Also, the obnoxious food or contributions which used to be required four times each year from the farms belonging to churches, by the neighbouring counts, were not to be claimed in future. 5thly, In case of murder by a layman who compounded with his enemies, clergymen and their relations were not to pay part of the fine: that as they were not concerned in the murder,† so too they should be exempt from the payment of this money. 6thly, All the faithful lying in sickness were bound in presence of their confessor and neighbours, to make their will with due‡ solemnity, and to divide, in case they had wives and children (saving what went to pay their servants' wages), all their

* Vid. App. C.

† Spelman, *Concil.* Giraldus Camb. *Hib. expugnata.* ch. 34.

‡ For form of will, see App. D.

moveable goods into three parts. One part was to go to the children, another part to the lawful wife, and a third was devoted to the funeral obsequies. 7thly, That due respect be paid through masses, vigils, and decent burial, to those who die after having made a good confession. And that all things should be done thenceforth, agreeably to the observance of the English Church".

From these decrees one cannot infer in the Irish Church danger to faith or gross immorality. The first decree would appear to imply the most serious abuse. Marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship but with the consent of the Church was not sin; because the power which forbad, could render lawful such a marriage. It may have been unpleasant to have brought an unnecessary pressure on the Church to relax her laws, but relaxation in favour of the Irish was almost a necessity. Owing to the system of clanship which prevailed it was very difficult to marry into other clans;* and when marrying into one's own clan, it was found rather inconvenient to observe the degrees of relationship laid down by the Church.† Even for the Universal Church the law in a few years subsequently was relaxed. The degrees of relationship prohibitory of marriage were lessened from seven to four. But the most serious abuse hinted at by the first decree was, that lawful wives were abandoned. Indeed it may not be denied that in some parts, especially

* Even so late as 1469, the grounds for application for a dispensation in the second degree of relationship were that it was difficult to marry into other families, and that wars would be thereby prevented.— *Registries of Armagh.* Octavian, vol. ii. p. 778. In referring to the MSS. Registries of Armagh, I beg to state that I quote from the T.C.D. copy.

† As we learn from Bede, Gregory the Great granted facilities to missionaries for England to dispense in the degrees of relationship with reference to marriage.

where the Northmen resided, on the score of sexual intercourse and observance of the marriage vows there had been some grounds for complaint.* But the only thing complained of in the decree was, that the marriages were not "de presente", but "de futuro". It had been customary then and for many ages afterwards, to make the marriage depend on something contingent or future. This may have given rise to some inconvenience. At the same time there is no reason why such a marriage, according to the ablest theologians, could not have been a valid marriage † The consent should have been given at the present time, contingent on something future. In the meantime the consent should not have been withdrawn; otherwise, of course, there could have been no marriage. Such marriages were not uncommon even in the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth century, Primate Colton, in his visitation of the diocese of Derry, entertained a complaint from a lady, Owna, against Majornius O'Cahill. Her grounds for complaint were that the marriage had been "de presente", and that he deserted her. And this clearly shows that another kind of marriage—namely, that "de futuro", was present to the mind. To meet the inconvenience then, from making the consent to be given to marriage depend on anything future, the first part of the first decree was framed.

2nd There was a seemliness in having all the Sacraments, as much as possible, administered in the church. Hence the great propriety in requiring that children should have been brought to the church in order to

* *Sylloge*, Letter of Lanfranc to King Gothric.

† De Lugo, *de Just et Jure*, d. xxii. n. 386. Sanchez, b.v.d. viii. No. 5. Collet, c. iii. No. 146. Carriere, vol. i, p. 333.
Of course the conditions made should not be opposed to the substance of the Sacrament.

receive baptism.* Not that such a step was necessary to the validity of the sacrament. St. Patrick baptized hundreds in the living stream; and in the present century it had been found inconvenient for a long time to administer the sacrament of baptism on all occasions in the church. At the same time it was fit to have baptism conferred in churches.†

3rdly, In recommending the payment of tithes, the

* It is well that the Irish were not accused of ignorance of the *form* of baptism. In a synod held among the Anglo-Irish (Inter Anglicos) in 1434, one of the canons ordained that baptism should be conferred "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost". Amen.—Prene's *Reg.* vol. ii. p. 13. The instructions of Ottobone, who was Legate for England and Ireland even in 1261, would imply a neglect or ignorance of the sacramental rites.

Baptismus conferatur in Ecclesia.

In pœnitentiæ sacramento sacerdos debet dicere, "Ego et a peccatis te absolvo".

In causa Sanguinis et pro advocati parte utatur ipso facto suspensus ab officio.

Episcopi cui subjecta sunt monasteria visitent et ejusmodi essu carnium discutiant et inquirant, et puniant.

"Monachi el alii religiosi se major-forestimantes et ostendere volentes vasis pretiosis uti contendunt. . . . . Quod in emendo vel vendendo in nundinis consistunt religiosi suspensi sunt, et non potest relaxari per superiorem".—MSS. T.C.D. E. iii. 18.

† The foolish charge of Brompton, that the children of the rich were baptized in milk, is met by Dr. Lanigan, who says with very great probability, that the practice in the African churches of giving milk and honey to newly baptized prevailed in Ireland. In fact, in our own days, scarcely a child is brought to the font from a remote country district without a good supply of milk and sugar in a bottle or in some other vessel. That on this narrow fact the whole story of baptizing in milk should have been built, will not surprise one who recollects how Gerald Barry, who pretended to speak from personal knowledge, foolishly interpreted facts and words. An island near Roscrea, because inhabited by religious, was called the "island of the living". Any one would understand it in a moral sense. Gerald Barry says that no persons died unless women, who lived on that island. The fact is, that religious were called children of life, while the wicked were called children of death.—Vid. Donovan, iv. m. ad. an. 1600, p. 2218, n.w.

Synod of Cashel conferred no new or great boon on the Irish Church. Tithes did not prevail till the sixteenth century in Spain. They are not necessary to the character of a thoroughly Catholic nation; and looking to the unseemly scenes enacted during the middle ages, no few of them will appear to have sprung from the tithe system. But even supposing tithes to be usual appendages to a canonically governed church, and to be of unmixed good, we are not to suppose that they were, up to the coming of the Norman, wholly unknown in Ireland. The tithe system, in a modified form, was known to the early Irish Church. Tribute to the Church was regulated by the custom of the province. However, all precaution was taken "that the poor should not be oppressed by tithes".* In fact, tithes to the Church, even from the rich, were regulated by a regard to the ministrations of the ministers of religion.† Tithes from animals and from the produce of the soil were specially mentioned. So, too, about the close of the eleventh century, Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, and Legate of the Apostolic See, in a treatise—which may be looked upon as a compendium of canon law—alludes to tithes as one of the sources of revenue to the Church. And the reader need not be reminded that the Synod of Kells, in 1152, dwelt on the propriety of giving

* *Spicilegium*, D'Achery, tom. ix. c. 30.

† "No priest may receive gifts from any one of whose conscience he had not a knowledge; because, as the hosts do not profit the giver, so the gifts may injure the receiver of the gifts".—*Ibid*, XXII. Martene, Coll. ii. vol. 4, speaking of the Irish canon, says: "Ut omni anno decimas de vitalibus et mortalibus demus Deo cum anno omni ipsius munera habeamus". Tithes were given from the fruits only in proportion to the growth. How to manage, if there could not be a tenth division of a matter, afforded considerable embarrassment.—Vid. *Reg. All Hallows*, app. Edited for I.A.S.

tithes to the Church. But lest it may be said that the regulations of Gillebert were such as prevailed in the Anglo-Norman or Roman Church, and may not have been adopted in Ireland, we can appeal to Irish documents in proof of their being nothing new at the Synod of Cashel. In a very old treatise written in Irish, the reasonableness of this is curiously and variously defended. The writer traces their institution to Melchisedech, who, as a type of Christ, received tithes from Abraham. The reasonableness of doing so was grounded on the nature of God and that of man together, as well as on the passions of man, together with the senses of the body—"to wit, the three persons of the Trinity; the four constituents of man's nature—namely, air, earth, fire, and water; and on the three affections of the soul—namely, the irascible, the concupiscible, and the rational. These, taken together, make up the number 10; and on that account it is not the fourth, nor fifth, nor sixth, nor ninth, but the tenth portion which is given. Again, there are five senses of the body: those of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. There are also five passions in the soul: fear, love, hatred, joy, and sadness". Then the writer goes on to connect the number preserved in the ark with the institution of tithes, and winds up by saying that "tithes were not paid to Aaron, whose sacrifices were only of bulls and calves, but to Melchisedech, who offered sacrifice in bread, and thus typified Christ and the Christian sacrifice".* Tithes, then, were not unknown in the early Irish Church; and to such a degree were people's minds imbued with the divine grounds on which they had been claimed, that tithes of the children

* For the very curious tract vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 101, or Appendix E.

were given to the Church. Whoever recalled his son after having offered him to God and St. Patrick was looked upon as having made a separation between heaven and earth.* But though tithes were paid in the early Irish Church, they were not binding in law or conscience unless on the condition of the reciprocal duties of the Church being performed by the rector or priest. He was to see to the material and spiritual well-being of the Church; and this spiritual ministration, as laid down in the old treatises, consisted of baptizing, giving the holy communion, offering sacrifice on Sunday and holidays, and praying for the living and the dead.

The Synod of Cashel, then, only legalized in regard to tithes what previously existed in a modified state in Ireland. That the decrees of Cashel were not joyfully acted on, is pretty certain. Those who refused paying tithes had to be excommunicated. In gathering them, the collectors sometimes were guilty of extortion. This appears from the fact that King Edward, in the year 1284, asked Pope Martin IV. not only for the tithes, but the mulcts put on those who were not punctual in paying, and what was *unlawfully* exacted. The Pope refused the latter part, saying that what was unlawfully got should be restored to those from whom it was taken.

4thly, The decree which secured immunity to ecclesiastical tenants and ecclesiastical property from exactions was not carried out: for the old Irish "cuddy" coyne and livery were substituted. In the year 1503, an agreement was entered into between the friars of Kilcormick on the one hand, and Theobald son of Donagh on the other, by which the former were bound to give food to four persons four

* *Leabhar Breac*, pp. 11, 12.

times a year.* To such a height did the abuse reach that in the fifteenth century the provincial councils decreed that the ecclesiastics should be unmolested at least on Saturday and Sunday evenings. So far was ecclesiastical property from being secure against attack, that even the very persons of ecclesiastics were profaned in the rush for conquest. Why, if mere laws could have secured immunity to ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical property, there had been no need of the Synod of Cashel. The Synod of Rathbreasail long before confirmed to the Church its possessions, and declared them free from exactions and tribute.† The dynast supported himself from certain lands set apart for that purpose, as well as from some exactions called "cosherings". But unless in violation of law, these "cosherings" might not be demanded from the church lands.‡ In the year 1050, the King of Meath made a grant of land in honour of St. Columbkille. No rent, hosting, coigny, or any other claim could be made by king or chieftain on said lands.§ And as Leogaire had a claim of "coinmhe" for a night‖ on church lands, O'Loughlin, king of Ireland, and Dermod

* *I. A. Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 104

† *An. of Clonenagh.*

‡ "Cosherings" were exactions imposed by chieftains and tanists on tenants, under colour of an usurped seignorial authority, so as to feast at the tenants' houses. "Cuddy" was a supper or entertainment for a night. "Coigne and Livery" meant free quarters in meat and money for man and horse, levied by soldiers on the inhabitants; it was the same as bonnaght. "Bonnaght-beg" meant a limited quantity of meat and drink; "bonnaght-mor" an unlimited share. Harris' Ware, *Antiq.* 70.

§ *I. A. Miscellany*, vol. i. 153.

‖ The night's feasting used to be kept at Ardbraccan. In 1161 O'Brolchan, successor to St. Columbkille, in Derry, freed all the churches of St. Columbkille, in Meath and Leinster, by obtaining for them exemption from tribute. *An. Four Masters.*

Maelshaughlin induced him to renounce the claim for three ounces of gold. "The church lands were, for two reasons, declared free—first, by the general rights of the Church; and, secondly, by purchase". Several grants of freedom to the Church were made by the kings of Connaught and Munster, too, before the coming of the English. In contrast to the English ecclesiastics, whom we will see, by and by, leading battalions to slaughter, the Irish ecclesiastics, in 799, were exempted from accompanying the chief on his warlike expeditions.*

5thly, Nothing, indeed, was more unseemly than that an ecclesiastic who should, like Melchisedech, be looked on as without father or mother, was punished for the misdemeanors of his relatives. The *eric* was a fine paid, not only for killing one but even for an attempt to kill.† The fine was levied on all the friends of the murderer. And even supposing that the Irish ecclesiastic was not exempt from contribution, yet there is no doubt that he enjoyed more privileges withal than an ecclesiastic in any other country in Europe. In point of fact, however, exemption from the eric was enjoyed for full three hundred years before the Synod of Cashel by the Irish ecclesiastic.‡

* *Annals Four Masters, Leabhar Breac,* col. 1. p. 75.

About 799, Fothad, at the request of the Archbishop of Armagh, presented a petition in favour of exemption from attendance on warlike expeditions on the part of the clergy, and was successful. He was called Fothad na Canoine. See *Leabhar Breac.* The Martyrology of Cathal Maguire gives *St. Fothad.*

So firmly established was ecclesiastical immunity that some wicked persons got into a church, and the king of Connaught had some scruples in taking them from it without writing for leave to Pope Innocent III. in the year 1201. "ɛclaıṙ ɒe ɒn, &c". Vid. *Leabhar Breac,* p. 75, col. 1.

† *Trans. R. I. A.,* vol. xv.

‡ *Camb. Ev.,* vol. ii. p. 543, edited for the I.A.S.

In one of the old Irish canons, in reference to the fine for crime, the legislators say, "that the penalty was to be levied on the substance of the culprit; in default of it on his land; then on his lord; lastly, on those who gave him food or arms. However, the Church, even though it supplied food, was not subject to the penalty". And in assigning a reason for this exception, the legislators beautifully express the beneficent, mild, fostering spirit of the Church. "Because the Church", they add, "is a dove, and the dove gives food not only to its own young, but to every bird that demands it".*

6thly, By a law laid down in the Seanchus Mor, in the time of St. Patrick, one-third of the property of the deceased went to the family Church.† However, if the burial took place in another church, the property was divided between the parish church and burial church.

7thly, Uniformity of discipline between the Irish and English Churches surely was not brought about by the Synod of Cashel; nor indeed was it desirable that in all respects the Irish Church should conform to English practices.‡ There was no connection

* See the *Spicilegium* of D'Acherry, tom. ix. cap. 29. "Quia Columba est. Columba autem non suis tantum pullis ministrat, sed omnibus avibus aperiens os suum".

† By the old Irish canons a part of the substance of every deceased person was given to the priests. Among the things to be left to the church mention is made of a horse, drinking-cup, and an ornament about the bed. In some circumstances one-third of the property was left to the church. D'Acherry, vol. ix. ch. 22.

‡ In a Council held at Westminster on the Sunday before the Ascension in 1175, the Bishops legislated against the enormities that were constantly cropping up (incessanter pullulant); against concubinage of the clergy, against the reception of money for the administration of the sacraments; against consecration in tin chalices; and against dipping the sacred species of bread in the species of wine.—Hoveden, *Pars posterior.*

between the Irish and English Churches, save that the same monarch had a voice in presenting to benefices in both.* And then as to national offices and traditions, while they inspire a love of virtue with peculiar force because associated often with the foundation and the life struggle of a church, there was reason for respecting and cherishing them. The same idea may be expressed in a variety of forms and language. On that account the early churches, though entertaining the same views in all points of doctrine, struck out, agreeably to their genius and devotion, various liturgies and offices. Besides the Eastern liturgies, a variety of them is found in the Western Church. So, too, the Irish Church had a variety of offices and a national liturgy.† In this diversity of discipline Rome, which gave its sanction to it, saw only a beautiful variety. Hence, when St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, writing to Gregory the Great, asked which was fitter, the use of the Roman or Gallican liturgy, the Pope answered, "Whatever is most conducive to the glory of God, whether adopted from Rome or Gaul, that choose. Because things are not to be loved for the place, but the place is to be loved for the good things which it exhibits".‡

And as the Irish Church maintained points of

* I am surprised that the learned Thomassinus, because reading that a few Danish Bishops in Ireland received consecration from their countrymen of Canterbury before the Synod of Kells, should hastily assert that the Irish Church was established by and dependant on the Church of Canterbury.—Thomas. *Ancienne et Nouvelle discipline de l'Église*, Part I. Liv. I. chap. xxxvi.—ix.

† The Gallican liturgy prevailed till the time of Charlemagne; the Mosarabic till a later period. In fact, in the sixteenth century, St. Charles Borromeo was zealous for its preservation. The Spanish liturgy conformed to the Roman about 1080.

‡ Bede, lib. I. chap. 57. And St. Jerome, Ep. 28 ad Lucinium, says, "Traditiones Ecclesiasticas præsertim quæ fidei non officiant ita observandas esse ut a majoribus traditæ sunt".

discipline common to the early ages of Christianity longer than many other Churches in Europe, so, perhaps, no Church in the twelfth century possessed such a variety of offices.* The Bishop of Limerick, Gillebert, by writing a treatise on the ecclesiastical offices, did a great thing to bring about, in that respect, an uniformity of discipline. But he did not entirely succeed, nor, as I said before, did the Synod of Cashel labour with much better success. It was desirable that the Irish offices should agree substantially with the English offices. Not because, indeed, they were *English*, but because the Salisbury "Use", or English rite, appeared to imitate closely the Roman rite. And as, in course of time, there had been a general tendency to conform in all respects to Rome, lest in the multiplication of independent nations there may be a fear of dissent in doctrine under this respect the motion at Cashel—to assimilate English or rather Roman and the Irish offices, had been laudable.†

Having read these canons, an Irishman in whose heart burns warmly a love of country, and whose soul recoils from the idea of national servitude, is apt to ask, are these the only equivalent for the horrors of an invasion? Were not such enactments made again and again by the Irish Church for its reformation? Are they not of a purely disciplinary character? In reply it can be said that these regulations were

* The office of "Chorepiscopus" was kept on till the twelfth century. The office of exorcist and acolythe is frequently mentioned during the fifteenth century in the registries of Armagh.

† Some, such as Hanmer and Campion, make the decree relative to the uniformity in ritual observances a distinct and an eighth canon. Leland has no grounds for putting words of thanks to Henry II. into the mouths of the Irish bishops for the remedy applied to existing abuses. It is not given by Wilkin's *Councils* as a part of the decrees. Vid, Vol. I., p. 471.

nothing very new to the Irish Church. They had, one way or another, frequently engaged the attention of the Irish bishops; but the fact of their being re-enacted in 1172 shows that all efforts during the one hundred and fifty years previously, since the defeat of the Danes, that laws had been inoperative. To be sure the canons framed were of a disciplinary character, but religion and morality are involved in the observance of general discipline. The canons of the Synod of Cashel had not been in many respects observed either before or after the Anglo-Norman invasion. One was required who could mould the baronial, jarring elements into a harmonius whole, and give effect to the national will.

Henry the Second did not wait long in Ireland after the Synod of Cashel. Having got into trouble by the murder of St. Thomas A' Becket, and fearing for his dominions, he set sail from Waterford on April 17th, 1172. But before or immediately after leaving Ireland, he sent a not unfavourable account to the Pope of his proceedings in Ireland, drew a picture of the Irish Church as already affording hopeful signs, and expressing anticipations that ere long it would be clothed in purity and beauty. Pope Alexander received with joy such tidings. He directed three letters, one to the king, another to the Irish princes, and a third to the bishops. Though writing on the same subject, he suited the style to his correspondents. In writing to Henry, the Pope alludes to the crimes, to the enormities which prevailed in the Irish Church, says that his information has been derived from the legate, the Bishop of Lismore, and urged on the King the necessity of taking all possible pains to remedy the evil. His letter to the princes of the country dwelt on the obligation of paying respect and obedience to their

liege-lord. Their pride was not wounded; they were reminded that it was due to themselves to obey him, not as one who conquered them, but as one whom they voluntarily received among themselves. A third letter written on the 12th of the Kalends of October, of the same date as the other letters, was directed to the bishops.* In it they were encouraged to give all their co-operation to the king in extirpating all filthy practices from the land, and to inculcate on the people a love of peace and fidelity to the king. To secure the sympathy and co-operation of the bishops, the Pope pointed to the happy results which already appeared from the king's mission.†

But while steps were being taking by the Irish Church for its reformation, was anything done by it to enslave the state to Henry? This question is often asked. Or, if not asked, it is only because it is thought by many to be beyond a shadow of doubt. The Irish Church did nothing for or against the state at the Synod of Cashel, because the Irish Church was not represented there. The Primate of Ireland did not attend. Scarcely one, if even one, of his suffragans deigned to be present. The bishops present made a virtue of necessity. They thought that submission to that power which could not be repelled was the best policy. Surely no bishop should be taunted by the country for that very part which the patriot martyr, St. Laurence O'Toole, enacted. Irish bishops were accused of perjury but two years before, in order to secure the independence of their country; by and by they are represented as selfishly handing over the lives and

* The four letters bore the same dates.—*Liber Scaccarii*, edited by Hearne. Vol. I., p. 45. Vid. App. F.

† *Liber Niger Scaccarii*. Vol. I.

liberties of a nation to a stranger. Whether piping or dancing, they are not destined to escape. The truth lies between both charges. The Irish Church, while there was reasonable hope of national independence, preached up resistance. The Irish Church, when it was madness to hold out or chafe, recommended acquiescence. What was done at Cashel was not the work of the Irish Church. And whatever was done had no influence on the destinies of the nation. On that account Roderick O'Connor was far from doing homage to Henry the Second. Henry looked on O'Connor as a rival for the sovereignty of Ireland; and were it not for the necessity he lay under of leaving the country, he had made arrangements for giving battle to O'Connor.* O'Connor was not conquered; but O'Connor could not repel the invader. Desmond had yielded; Thomond, M'Murrough of Leinster, O'Rorke of Meath, and O'Melaghlin, king of Ossory, had yielded.† When the warrior chiefs shrunk from the battle field, it was not for the ministers of the Church to step outside the sanctuary. Though the Primate Gelasius was represented as absent from the Cashel Synod because of infirmity, there is reason to think that his absence was caused by policy. He dared not offend the Ulster princes among whom his See lay. He dared not compromise the independence of the chief king. Furthermore about the same time he presided at a synod convened by or at the

* Hoveden, Diceto, Gervase.

† Leland. The Bishops writing to the Pope say that Henry II. had subdued all the country to his sway. And Gerald Barry, opening a chapter in the history of the conquest of Ireland, assures us "that the whole country was in silence and submission in presence of the King", when he convened the council of Cashel. Annals of Ulster say that, in 1171, the King took hostages from Munster, came afterwards to Dublin, and took hostages from Leinster and Meath, from Ibriuin, Argiall, and Ulster.

suggestion of Roderick. However, Gelasius gave his sanction to the proceedings at Cashel.

The King of England had not long left Ireland when disturbances arose there; some of those who promised fealty flew to arms. Repenting of their submission or goaded by wanton outrage, Desmond, Thomond, and O'Connor himself attacked the common enemy, and rendered Henry's tenure of a single sod in Ireland quite precarious. At this critical moment the king thinking that the Bull of Pope Adrian would stand him in good stead, determined to try its effect on the Irish people. He wrote to Pope Alexander the Third, reminding him of the Bull given by his predecessor, and demanded a confirmation of it. A synod was convened at Waterford. Nicholas, the king's chaplain, Ralph, an Abbot, and another Ralph, Dean of Landaff, attended on the part of Henry. They were bearers of this confirmatory brief of Alexander the Third. It ran thus:—"Alexander, Bishop, servant of servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace, and the apostolic benediction. In as much as things granted on good reason by our predecessor are to be allowed, ratified, and confirmed: we, well considering the grant and privilege concerning the donation of the land of Ireland which belongs to us, and lately given by Adrian our predecessor, and following his steps, do, in like manner, confirm, ratify, and allow the same: Reserving and saving to St. Peter and to the Church of Rome, the yearly revenue of one penny out of every house as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also that the barbarous people of Ireland by your means be reformed and recovered from their filthy and abominable conversation; as that in name so in life and in manners they may be Christians, and the rude and disordered Church being reformed by

you, that the nation may, with possession of the name, be in acts and deeds followers of the same". Now for the first time the Bull of Adrian had been publicly produced by Henry. The Pope in sending the above brief confirmatory of the Bull of Adrian, wrote to Christian the legate, to the Archbishops, and to Henry. In writing to the legate, he dwelt on the enormities which, he said, he had learned on reliable authority. In writing to Henry, he assured him of the submission of the Bishops. His letter to the Archbishops called for their co-operation in plucking up the vices of the people.* No letter is mentioned as having been sent on this, as on a former occasion, to the native princes.† Whether this neglect of the princes arose from a conviction of their helplessness in offering any opposition, I know not. But at all events, about the same time, the monarch of Ireland, Roderick O'Connor, came to terms with the English monarch. As his representatives he sent over to England Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, Concors, Abbot of St. Brendan's in Clonfert, and Laurence. The king and council gave them an audience at Windsor. By a treaty then concluded, Roderick promised submission to Henry. As a mark of submission he undertook to pay a hide from every tenth head of cattle. Henry on his part bound himself to secure to Roderick the full sovereignty as before over most of Ireland. The only parts excepted were Dublin, Meath, Leinster, Waterford, and Dungarvan, with the country between

* MS. in British Museum. *Liber Munerum.* Third Part. *Sylloge* of Ussher.

† Brompton wrongly asserts that the Pope, on receiving an account of the proceedings at Waterford, constituted Henry *King* of Ireland. Those who deny the authenticity of this bull, lay much stress on the mistake. But, of course, it is as dust in the balance against the weight of evidence to prove the genuineness of this document.

it and Waterford. Furthermore to secure the dependence of the petty princes on O'Connor, the English monarch promised to aid him with all his forces. The council was held during the octave of the feast of St. Michael.* Before it broke up Henry exercised his first act of patronage in reference to the Irish Church. He presented Augustin to the diocese of Waterford. Up to this time for nearly a century previously the Bishops of Waterford which was composed chiefly of Danes, were sent for consecration to the Norman Archbishops of Canterbury, with whom the northmen of Waterford claimed kindred.† But Henry sent Augustin, an Irishman, to be consecrated by his own metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cashel.

If any one were foolishly sanguine enough to hope for a reformation in church and state in Ireland, through the murderer of St. Thomas A'Becket and through his lawless followers, their hope was speedily dashed. The treaty of Windsor was violated. De Burgo, disdaining the limits assigned him in 1177, made incursions into Connaught.‡ In the same year Cardinal Vivian, of the title of St. Stephen de Monte Cælio, came as legate apostolic to Ireland and the neighbouring islands. It is said that he came to preach up the claims of Henry to the submission of the Irish people, to enforce that submission by censure and excommunication, and that he came escorted by the Anglo-Norman soldiery :§ others say that, charged

* *Hoveden, Old Rymer.*

† See Introductory Chapter.

‡ Liber Scaccarii, vol. 1.

§ Dowling's *Annals,* which add, "that the Cardinal was sent to order the Irish to supply the English with food at a reasonable price". This was done by Vivian, but he got no orders to do so, because it was only after his arrival in Ireland the contingency of stowing away provisions from the English took place.

with business of importance in connection with the Scottish Church, Vivian merely chanced to touch at Ireland. At all events, after spending some time at the Isle of Man, after the Epiphany, he proceeded to Downpatrick. John De Courcey, against the advice of Fitzadelm, governor, on the 2nd of February, proceeded from Dublin towards the north on a plundering expedition.* The king of Down, Dunlevy, gave battle to De Courcey. But the Cardinal, so far from preaching up submission to the English, on seeing the rapacity of the Anglo-Normans, and the rejection by De Courcey of reasonable terms from the king of Down, urged it as a sacred duty on Dunlevy and his Irish subjects to defend themselves and sell their lives as dearly as possible. Either because found in the train of the army, or because known to be attached to the interest of his Toparch, the Bishop of Down was captured by De Courcey. The Cardinal himself was captured; but liberated without delay, he procured the release of the Bishop also. While an eye-witness of the deeds of oppression by the Anglo-Normans, the Cardinal shared in the indignation, and burned with the enthusiasm of the natives. But by and by on coming to Dublin, the Cardinal summoned a Council of Bishops. A change had come over his spirit. It may have been that he was persuaded of the hopelessness, of the folly of resistance. Or it may have been that, warped by the gratification of that love of gain† which cursed and rendered useless his mission, he came around to the stronger side against the oppressed. Or it may be that, without an imputation of inconsistency, he encouraged resistance to the expedition of De Courcey, who, acting against

* Hanmer, p. 295.

† Baronius, ad an.

the advice of the governor, was looked on as no better than a freebooter. However it may have been, on coming to Dublin at the Synod, Cardinal Vivian hurled excommunication against all those who offered any opposition to the arms of the English monarch. Generally speaking, in Ireland the greatest respect had been entertained for the rights of sanctuary. So far was this carried, that even what was stolen from the sanctuary—if one were wicked enough to be guilty of the theft—was supposed sufficient when thrown around one to protect from the just vengeance of the law. Under these feelings, in order to embarrass the English, the provisions of the country were swept into the churches. The delusion however vanished. Cardinal Vivian announced that a reasonable price being offered for them, the provisions may be drawn from the sanctuary.* But even this had not the desired effect. As the English monarch had to rely on his steel-clad knights for the subjugation of Ireland, so too he had to rely on them for keeping it in subjection. For Cardinal Vivian about two years after in a Synod in Dublin, at which several Bishops and Abbots attended, found it necessary to preach up obedience to Henry on the part of the Irish under pain of excommunication. It would appear that the visit of Cardinal Vivian was not of a casual character, but paid for the express purpose of enforcing the claims † of the English monarch on Irish allegiance; so much so that some Irish annalists date the payment of Peter Pence and the submission of Ireland from his arrival in Ireland. But so distasteful was his mission to them, and so far from carrying

* King Cormac compiled laws which regulated the punishment for violation of sanctuary. Vid. *Camb. Eversus.* vol. 2, p. 371.

† Giraldus, *Hib. Expug*, lib. 2, ch. 17. Ware's *Annals*, ad an. 1177.

away much money with a love of which he was accredited, that the natives made a raid on his retinue, and carried away his horses and mules and asses.

Hence it may be safely asserted that the Bull of Adrian had as little effect in keeping the people or princes quiet as it had in bringing them under the English yoke. With good reason then does Keating state, "that Roderick O'Connor, seeing that most of the other Irish princes had made their submission, judged it his best policy to come to terms with the English monarch. Thus, then, there was no king, nor chieftain, nor lord in Ireland that did not at this time pay homage to the king of Saxon-land, and acknowledge his sway over them".* On no account can it be stated either, that the action of the Irish clergy had anything to do with the issue of Adrian's letter, as Keating blunderingly asserts, or that the grant affected any effort by the Irish princes for national independence.

The characteristic traced by Du Chesne in the general family of the Normans is strikingly developed in the Anglo-Irish branch.† De Courcy, who plundered and slew the innocent, could very strangely exhibit some traits of a religious missionary. He appears to have taken all pains in the foundation and endowment of religious houses. In the year 1178 he gave to the priory of St. Bega the Island of Neddrum. However, one-third of it was reserved to Malachy, the Bishop. Under that reservation the Bishop

* Mulconroy's MS. Copy of Keating's History of Ireland in 1631, T. C. D. Dr. Keating misstates some things in connection with the ring of investiture by the Pope, and confounds the grant of Adrian with the confirmatory letters of Alexander III., read at Waterford, or by Cardinal Vivian in 1177.

† "Potentes nonnunquam sanctis inique largiuntur, spoliant Ecclesias et rapinis ipsis alia ditant." *Hist. Nor.* 211.

ratified the grant, and besides promised to give half of the offerings made by the faithful on five festivals. These were the Nativity of our Lord, the Visitation of the B. V. M., St. Patrick's Day, Easter Sunday, and Pentecost.* In five years afterwards, De Courcy entered into an agreement with the Abbey of Chester. The secular Canons were removed from Down. They were replaced by Benedictine monks from Chester. *He* undertook to endow them with ten carucates of land on one condition. This stipulated that while the Abbey of Chester should provide monks, it should, however, exercise no jurisdiction over the lands. Malachy the Bishop was to be both Abbot and Bishop; the Monks were to form the Canons; the Prior was looked on as Dean. And with these, till the reformation, the election of the Bishop rested.† John De Courcy confirmed the donations made by former kings and princes. The donation to Neddrum, like most of the donations to religious by the Irish and Anglo-Irish, was made in the vigour of health. The grant was not, as in later ages, clogged with conditions—laws of Mortmain or "bequests' acts" did not check the flow of charity; the gift was given in the flush of health from a high supernatural motive. The precise lawyer-like wording which characterizes the deed contrasts with the simple grants of the native Irish. As a specimen of the sort, I give the charter of John De Courcy:—"Let it be known to all that

* Rol. Parl. 42, Ed. III.

† It was no uncommon thing to have the offices of Abbot and Bishop united in one. The Archbishop of Dublin styled himself regular Abbot of the Cathedral Churches of the Blessed Trinity and Bishop of St. Patrick's. In the year 1244, the abbot and monks of Bangor claimed the right of electing the Bishop, but Innocent IV. confirmed such a right to the Canons of Down. Vid. Reeves' *Taxation of Down*, etc., et *Liber Niger Dubliniensis*.

I, John De Courcy, by this charter have given, and do confirm to God, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to the monks serving God here, in free and perpetual alms two-thirds of the Island of Neddrum, and two-thirds of the land belonging to the Church. Bishop Malachy shall have a third of the benefice of said church, and also a third of the island. Besides I grant to the monks all the lands which belonged to Gillanhar, with its appurtenances in woods and plains, in meadow and pasture, in mills, in ponds, in banks, in roads, in paths, in fresh and salt-water, in islands and harbours, in fishponds, in wreckage, etc.; also sok* and sak, tack and tol,† Them,‡ and Infangthef,§ for my soul and the souls of my father and mother, free from all secular exactions; also timber for building and burning, and what may be necessary for feeding animals and horses in my woods, without obstruction from the forester".‖

Side by side with the Anglo-Norman charter I give that of an Irish king, drawn up before the year 1175. If all other proof were wanting, it would be sufficient to establish an identity in religious belief and practice between the Irish and the universal Church. The practice of penance and pilgrimage—veneration for the saints—belief in a middle state hereafter, and in

* Sak is forfeiture.

† Toll was the money received at markets.

‡ Them. By this one was to have the generations of his villeins, with their suites and cattle wherever found. If, however, the bondman dwelt for a year and a day in a privileged town, he could not be claimed as a villein. I am surprised that Dr. Reeves should have looked the Registries of Armagh through, and yet declared that he did not know what was meant by "Them" in his *Taxation of Down and Connor*.

§ Infangthef meant that thieves taken in one's Lordship could be judged and convicted. See *Registries of Armagh*.

‖ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol 2, p. 1018.

the efficacy of good works towards those in such a state—a love of monastic institutions—all this so much at variance with the creed of the Reformers, is inculcated in King Dermot's charter. At the same time it throws a good deal of light on what had been obscure in reference to the accession and names of some bishops:

"Dermot, under the favour of Divine Providence, King of Munster, to all the faithful of the people greeting and peace for ever: Being well persuaded of the fleeting nature of human memory and of the unstable pomp of a perishable world; we have, therefore, deemed it worthy to record in writing the affectionate zeal which our Father Cormac, of blessed memory, King of Munster, built and confided to the protection of his people the Church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, at Cork, for the use of Archbishop Maurice and his successors, and for the pilgrims out of Connaught, the compatriots of St. Barry. And now having succeeded to our paternal kingdom, relying on the Divine assistance, we have undertaken, for the health of our soul and of the souls of our parents, to defend the said church in such a manner as it becomes royal munificence to do, and to rebuild and enlarge the same in honour of the saints under whose protection the same place is known to be: Be it therefore known to all the faithful that we do confirm for all time to come to the said foundation all that the said place now justly possesses, either by the paternal foundation or by the grants of other kings; for my glorious father, the king, bestowed upon the said place Lysnoldark, and Diarmid O'Connor endowed it with Ailinna na Carrigh. And be it known furthermore, that we have ourselves granted to the said pilgrims the lands of Illa, and by this our charter do confirm the same; and our illustrious son Cormac, at the request

of Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, granted in perpetuity to God and St. John, the lands of Maeldulgi for the health of his soul and ours, to be enjoyed freely and without molestation, and exempt from all secular services, which grant of said lands we do also hereby confirm. Now, finally, we do take under our protection the said monastery with the aforesaid lands, which we exempt from all secular charge, and yield freely and peaceably to God for all time to come. And lest at any time any one should presume to call in question the truth of these former grants, or of this our present grant, we have authenticated this charter with the impression of our seal, and delivered it in the presence of fitting witnesses to the pilgrims of Connaught, to be preserved. Witnesses, Christian, Bishop of Lismore and Legate of the Apostolic See; Donat,* Archbishop of Cashel; Gregory, Bishop of Cork; Brictius, Bishop of Limerick; Benedict, Bishop of Ross; Matthew, Bishop of Cloyne; Donat, Abbot of Mayo; Gregory, Abbot of Cong; Eugene, Bishop of Ardmore".†

It is pleasant to see that the Irish Bishops, much occupied as they were amid the troubles of invasion, were thought worthy of being consulted at the third general Council of Lateran: it was held in 1179. St. Laurence of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, Brictius of Limerick, Augustin of Waterford, Felix of Lismore, and Constantine O'Brien of Killaloe, represented the Irish Church.‡ But before they left his dominions, Henry II. required from them an oath, that they

* Some annalists call him *Donald*.

† This bishop is not noticed by Ware or Harris. Ardmore is the east of Youghal bay, and comprised the country of the Desies.

‡ Usher says (*Sylloge*, ep. 48), that five or six besides Catholicus and St. Laurence were summoned.

would not sanction any encroachments on his prerogatives. However, St. Laurence pleaded the cause of his country—he told the pathetic story of her faith and her wrongs; as if he had been annoyed by Henry II., his jurisdiction over the five suffragans and the possessions attached to his see were confirmed to him.* By a bull directed to him by and by, by the Pope, St. Laurence was appointed legate for Ireland.† These privileges, the zeal displayed for country, and the worth to which the granting of these privileges was attributed, annoyed the English monarch. However, he suppressed his resentment.

In 1180, to obtain or to secure the fulfilment of favourable terms for Roderick O'Connor, St. Laurence O'Toole went to England. He was forbidden to return to Ireland. He went to Normandy. He took ill. Sickness and broken spirits told on him. During his last moments he sent a messenger to the king, demanding peace for his unfortunate country. On being

* Swords with its appurtenances, Finglass, Clondalkin, Tamlacht; the church of Bishop Sanctanus; Rathmichael, Cellcomgaill, Cellachaith, Driegnig, Cellcrithaith, with the mountain districts from Igis to Sudi; Cheli, Kevin's Church with its appurtenances; Technabretnach, Lechrecasandi (for the support of the canons, however), half of Rathravini, the harbour of Beth, Raithchillin, Glasnedin with the mill; Chenudrochit (the head of the bridge), with the mill; Balemltamlaib or Ballamee amlaib, Dun-Cuanach, Bulengore, Cellesra, Cenanusnel, Lisbuan, a third part of Clogher, a third part of Cella, Cluinheney, Kalgoho, Talachuchain, Celmgenalenin, Celltuca, Racthsalean, Tulachnanespoc, Drumind, Balencharum, Tirodraun, Balenroolef, Balimochain, Ballimacemurguessa, Balendelan, St. Thomas' Church, St. Nicholas', St. Werburgh's, St. Patrick's, and the island of Dalkey. All were assigned to the Archdiocese of Dublin. *Sylloge* of Ussher; Alan's Registry, T.C.D.; Father O'Hanlon's Life of St. Laurence, p. 77-8.

† The bull directed a few months after the council to St. Laurence proves that he returned to Ireland.

asked to make testamentary arrangements, he said, "God knows I die worth nothing in this world". The only thing of earth which interposed between himself and his God, was a thought on his country. And looking back on the threshold of existence, he was heard to exclaim in dying accents, "Foolish people, what will become of you? Who will heal your misfortunes?" His words were indeed prophetic. On November 14th, 1180, he delivered up his soul to his Creator.

Only fifteen years have elapsed since the arrival of the English in Ireland, and yet in that short time they gave abundant proofs of their unfitness for the mission with which they pretended to charge themselves. Few were the years of their stay up to this, but they were years fruitful of much evil. Alas! the evil was only in the beginning. Men when perhaps disposed to prepare for another world were called on to defend the chastity of their daughters, the hearths of their fathers, and use the awful right of retaliation. Bishops may have met in synod, and sees may be consolidated and enriched, and laws may go forth, but the great problem for solution lay in bringing about a state of things which would render easy the observance of these laws. The problem remained unsolved. There was a class of men in the heart of this country, who as long as a native prince or chief had a sod of land which he could call his own, knew no rest. Often, though a resolve on forbearance was formed in the morning, before evening provocation was given to exercise the dreadful right of retribution. They were times of confusion, and trouble, and plunder.

About 1180, from a spirit of plunder and aggrandizement, one of the most famous of the many famous relics in Ireland was taken away. In all ages veneration of sacred relics formed a part of Catholic

worship. The early Christians gathered up with scrupulous care the bones of an Ignatius or a Polycarp. The Irish Church not only recognized the lawfulness, the usefulness of the practice, but showed a characteristic tendency to the veneration of any of the memorials left by her great saints. It may have been the "Cathach" of St. Columba, or the bell of St. Senanus, the "Canon Phadruig", or any other relic; but it always appealed powerfully to the religious feelings. Domestic or national feelings to a wonderful degree were superinduced on the supernatural conviction. The binding nature of an oath on the Gospels was as nothing in presence of the obligation induced by the sacred relics. Hence it is mentioned as a strange thing in 1143, that the king of Meath though under the protection of the relics and the guarantees of Ireland was taken prisoner by the king of Connaught.* The guarantees were "the altar of Kiaran with its relics, the shrine of Kiaran, called the 'Orinach',† the Mathamtior,‡ the abbot and prior, and two out of every order in the Church, O'Dubthaigh, Archbishop of Connaught, successor of St. Patrick, and the 'Staff of Jesus', the successor of St. Fechin, and the bell of Fechin, and the boban of St. Kevin".

But the most famous relic was the Staff of Jesus. It was taken in 1180 from Armagh to Dublin.§ On the coming of St. Patrick as Apostle to Ireland, he brought a staff or staffs,‖ said by his biographers to have been given in one of the islands of the Mediter-

* Annals of the Four Masters.

† A crozier covered with gold.

‡ The Gospel of St. Matthew.

§ Black Book of Christ Church, fol. 214; Hib. Expug. lib. ii., ch. xviii; White Book of Christ Church.

‖ There were several "Staffs of Jesus". See list of the relics of St. Albans, and Book of Obits of Christ Church, edited for I.A.S.

ranean sea by an angel. Whether intended or not by the giver to be used as a crozier, in all probability it was turned to that use by the illustrious apostle. In such reverence was it held, and so emblematic of primatial power, that each usurper of the See of Armagh thought himself secure of jurisdiction, when, and only when, possessed of this sacred relic. Hence, when driven away by Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, Nigellus contrived to bring with him the "Staff of Jesus". Even in the days of St. Patrick, for purposes of adornment and preservation it employed the skill of the most famous artists. In process of time it was covered with gold, and gems, and precious stones. It was held in the greatest veneration. For the wonders which it performed it was compared to the rod of Moses.* And with good reason; for not merely miracles in the physical order, but the conversion of the most blind and hardened was attributed to it. Health and life were given back at its touch. Floods were crossed, the greatest dangers escaped through it. If the most inveterate foes were to be reconciled, if treaties were to be ratified, if the shield of protection were to be thrown over those doomed to destruction, the famous Staff of Jesus was called into requisition. The obligation from touching the sacred Gospels was as dust in the balance against the responsibility supposed to be incurred by touching the "Staff of Jesus".† In 1314, O'Kelly, the more effectually to gain credit and debauch the fidelity of the followers of Birmingham, swore on the sacred relic. In 1529 no form of oath was deemed so likely to bind Gerald M'Shane in England as a touch of the sacred Staff.

* St. Bern. Life of St. Malachy—*Topograp.*, part iii, ch. 34, by Gerald Barry. *Colgan.*

† Prene's Reg., fol. 117.

It appeared beyond the reach of human power to destroy it.* At least when other relics were destroyed, amid their ruins the sacred Staff was found uninjured. This wonderful and venerable relic did not escape the plundering hand of Fitzadelm.†

CHAPTER IV.

If left to itself, free from English interference, the Irish Church had reason to congratulate itself. But so far from getting help to recover from the effects of wars and contact with Pagan northmen for two hundred years, and to exhibit itself without spot or wrinkle, that still greater dangers came on it from the Anglo-Normans. The danger did not consist in the distraction of feeling naturally resulting from trying stirring events, nor in the interruption to the sacred offices from notes of war, nor in the plundering and burning of churches. Because, though these external aids be withdrawn for a time, still the spirit of religion can be strong in the hearts of the people. The greatest danger came, with some few exceptions, from the example of corrupt foreign ecclesiastics. Among these exceptions may be numbered the virtuous and learned successor of St. Laurence O'Toole in the see of Dublin, Archbishop Comyn. Before the lapse of

* S. Papers, vol. ii. p. 146.

† Some place the removal of this Staff to a later date. Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 222.

ten years the incontinence of the Anglo-Norman clergy appeared not in occasional but in numerous instances. If ever there were reason for looking to the purity of the Irish Church, it was at the present time. Accordingly, in the year 1186 a synod was held by Archbishop Comyn in Dublin. Fifteen bishops and many abbots were present. The famous Gerald Barry, who was tutor to Prince John, attended. The council opened on the fourth Sunday in Lent. The canons drawn up at this synod were chiefly of a rubrical character.

"1st, Priests were prohibited from celebrating mass on a wooden altar according to an Irish custom. The altars in all monasteries and baptismal churches were ordered to be of stone. And should a stone not large enough to cover the platform of the altar be not easily procured, then a square and polished stone was ordered, which may be fixed in the middle of the altar, and on which the body of Christ may be consecrated. The altar-stone prescribed was to be ample enough to contain five crosses, and also the foot of the largest chalice. However, in chapels and oratories where the use of a wooden altar may be unavoidable, the mass should be celebrated on a stone of the prescribed size, fixed in the wood.

2nd, Coverings on the platform of the altar and a cloth covering the front and reaching to the ground were ordered. The coverings were to be whole and clean.

3rd, The chalices in churches and monastories were to be of gold and silver. In the poorer churches, however, when golden or silver chalices may not be had, pewter chalices were allowed. But cleanliness was to characterize all the chalices.

4th, The Host, which represented the Lamb without spot, the "Alpha and Omega", was ordered to be white and pure, so that the partakers of it might understand the

necessity of purifying and feeding the soul rather than the body.

5th, Wine for consecration should be so tempered with water as not to be deprived by it of the natural taste or colour.

6th, Cleanness, and fineness, and whiteness were recommended in all the altar vestments and coverings.

7th, A lavatory of wood or stone so bored that whatever was poured into it may pass into the earth, was recommended. Into this was to be poured the water with which the priests' hands were washed after communion.

8th, An immovable font in the middle of the church or in such a place that the paschal procession may move round it was ordered. The material was to be of stone, or of wood lined with lead. Above, it was to contain a sort of reservoir, and it should be bored through to the bottom: and the water was to be conveyed by a pipe from it down into the earth.

9th, The altar coverings and vestments dedicated to God, when injured by age, were to be burnt in the church. The ashes were to be floated in water through the bore of the font into the earth.

10th, No vessel used in baptism was ever to be turned to common uses.

11th, Persons were prohibited from burying under pain of excommunication in a churchyard, unless it be established by documentary or other undeniable testimony that it had been consecrated by a bishop not only as a place of refuge but as a place of burial. And even in a place so consecrated, no one was to be buried without the presence of a priest.

12th, There was a prohibition against the celebration of divine service in chapels built by laymen to the detriment of mother churches.

13th, Since the clergy of Ireland have always been remarkable among other virtues for chastity, and as it would be disgraceful to the archbishop to allow them to be corrupted, through his negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers and the example of a few incontinent men, he

therefore forbad, under the penalty of losing both office and benefice, any priest, deacon or sub-deacon, from keeping a woman in his house, either under the pretext of necessary service, or any other pretext, unless she be a mother, sister, or such person whose age may remove any suspicion of sin.

14th, Under pain of losing benefices and offices simony was forbidden.

15th, Ecclesiastics were forbidden to receive a benefice from a layman. And unless after the third monition such a benefice so obtained were renounced by the ecclesiastic, he was excommunicated and deprived of said benefice for ever.

16th, Bishops were forbidden to ordain the subject of another diocese, without commendatory letters from his Bishop, or from the Archdeacon. Without a certain title to a benefice no person was to be promoted to Holy Orders.

17th, No two of the higher or Holy Orders were to be conferred on one day.

18th, All persons living in fornication were to be compelled to contract marriage. And whoever was born in fornication could neither be promoted to Holy Orders nor be reckoned heir to father or mother, unless these were afterwards joined in wedlock.

19th, Tithes to the mother churches out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things which yearly renew themselves were ordered under pain of anathema incurred after the third monition. Those who have been obstinate in refusing to pay shall be obliged to pay punctually for the future.

20th, All archers and all bearers of arms of any sort not for the defence of the country but for plunder shall on every Sunday be excommunicated in life with bell, book, and candle light, and at death shall be deprived of Christian burial".

The reader will observe that most of these Canons are of a rubrical and ritual character. By looking into the prefatory matter prefixed to the Roman

Missal and Ritual, he will see them given substantially. Two churches may agree in professing the same doctrine and using the same ritual, and yet may differ in rubrics. Observance of the latter secures uniformity to the nicest shade. The rubrics regulate not only the article but even the form of the article. The Irish Church adopted the ritual and rubrics of the Roman Church in the fifth century; and as the rubrics and ritual of even Rome itself underwent some changes since that time, according to the circumstances and the need of the hour, so in the twelfth century, in some immaterial matters touching rubrics, the Irish and the Roman practices exhibited a slight difference. Not so with England, Not fully converted till the sixth or seventh century, it borrowed its ritual and rubrics from the improved or modified Roman form. Besides, there was a more active correspondence kept up between England than between Ireland and Rome. Above all, no Church in Europe exhibited such a tenacity of those practices which, though only first adapted to the circumstances of the age, were handed down as unchangeable deposits by its saintly founders, as did the Irish Church. On that account it is not unlikely that the rubrical canons of the Provincial Dublin Synod were decreed not so much to preserve as to effect the minutest uniformity. The use of brazen and glass chalices obtained in Ireland. Nor was their use confined to the Irish Church. The "blood of our Lord" was carried in a glass cup by Exuperius.* The thirteenth and sixteenth canons, in reference to the chastity of the clergy and the ordination of clerics, were long before enacted in old Irish Synods.

Well, on the first day of the Dublin Synod, Arch-

* St. Jerome, Ep. 5 ad Rusticium.

bishop Comyn preached on the Sacraments. On the second day Albin O'Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglass, and afterwards Bishop of Ferns, addressed the Synod, and dwelt on the beauty and necessity of clerical continency. With regret he saw a violation of that virtue. And after attributing the violation to the bad example of the Welsh and English ecclesiastics, he wound up by inveighing with the freedom of an apostle against the irregularities of the strangers. The charges were not denied by them. But each began to reproach his neighbour; and while each admitted the charge, he denied it was applicable to himself. The Archbishop, though an Englishman, was satisfied with the proofs which were brought forward. The guilty were suspended from the discharge of ecclesiastical functions and from the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues. Gerald Barry was invited by the Archbishop to preach on the third day. He agreed to the encomiums passed by Albin O'Mulloy on the chastity of the Irish clergy.* But irritated at the sweeping censure passed on his own countrymen by O'Mulloy, he set himself to review with severity the conduct of the Irish ecclesiastics. Their strong sense of religion, their many virtues, and pre eminently the virtue of chastity, their unwearied attention to the divine offices, to reading, to prayer, their frugality at meals, and abstinence from all food till dusk, and the recital of the divine offices extorted his admiration and praise. But his praise was not unqualified. He censured their habits as too retiring, as not of a sufficiently active character. He charged them with drinking too much spirituous liquor. The charge, unlike what happened in refe-

* He calls the guilty "Our Ecclesiastical Countrymen". *De rebus a se gestis, Part 2, ch.* 15.

rence to the charge made against and in presence of the English, was not admitted. It was received with honest indignation. The Bishop of Ferns, on being asked what he thought of Gerald's discourse, said, "that he was strongly tempted to fly in his face, or make a harsh reply".* Indeed, without a desire to retort, Gerald might have alluded to the drinking propensities of the Irish. To him, accustomed, perhaps, to drink taken at intervals and during dinner, whatever was taken after dinner and without food may have appeared excessive. At all events some of the ecclesiastics, in the opinion of the prejudiced Gerald Barry, were without blemish, even on the score of sobriety.

Having seen by the thirteenth canon of the Dublin council, and by the challenge thrown out by Albin O'Mulloy, and by the admission of even Gerald Barry himself, that chastity was characteristic of the Irish clergy, one should feel startled at the assertion that ecclesiastical celibacy was not known in the Irish Church. When I find men looked up to as oracles maintain the marriage of ecclesiastics even in the fifteenth century,† I am tempted to lay down a principle for the solution of objections against the celibacy of the priesthood in the Irish Church.

It may not be denied that in any age of the Irish or any church, there may have been a disregard of the obligation of the vow of chastity. But on the whole, when we meet with mention of a married Bishop, or Archdeacon, or Prior, and called such, they must be understood as no more

* Harris, *Bishops of Ferns.*

† For the doctrines of the early Irish Church consult Dr. Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist.* vol iv., and Right Rev. Dr. Moran's *Origin, Doctrine, etc., of the Irish Church*, and Very Rev. Dr. Gargan's, Maynooth, *Ancient Church of Ireland.*

than laymen and as not in holy orders. The Archdeacons or Erenachs were those who were employed to farm the church lands. For the most part each church, in fact every church unless its rector became a collector of the ecclesiastical revenues, had an Erenach. The Archdeacon or Erenach was not in holy orders.* There were even female Erenachs. No wonder, then, that frequent, hourly mention was made of the son of the Erenach; because he was not in holy orders.

With regard to Abbots, and Bishops, and Priors the same may be said. These occupied or usurped the lands of the church. Either because they were descendants of those who originally endowed the churches, or were called in to defend the church property from encroachments, in process of time they possessed themselves of the episcopal and monastic lands. Of course to satisfy the people and lay a flattering unction to their own souls, these laymen hired a minister for the discharge of the spiritual functions. But the inheritor or usurper of the temporalities, without any title to the name, was styled an ecclesiastical dignitary. Thus, in the Annals of the Four Masters, in 1595, O'Reilly was called the son of the Prior. The latter at the same time was no ecclesiastic. Let us hear Gerald Barry speak of abbots in the twelfth century. "Many churches", he says, "through Ireland have a lay abbot. This arose from a wicked custom. . . . They leave only the offerings to the clergy, and cause themselves to be *unduly* called abbots. They impudently possessed themselves of the church lands, which they leave to their children". One See, and only one, presented a

* The *Airchinech* or *Erenach* was not in holy orders, and was a different person from the Airchindech.

succession of married Bishops. That See was Armagh. The see was in possession of one family during fifteen successions for two hundred years. Armagh was exposed to and suffered from the ravages of the Danes. It was taken in the years 890, 893, 919; was burnt in 914 and in 931; and was plundered in 941. Confusion favoured usurpation—"Well, from about the year 920, down for 200 years", says St. Bernard, "there were eight married men, Bishops, but *not in orders*, before Archbishop Celsus; and the practice deserveth death". Furthermore, Amalgaid and Moltule at the same time are mentioned Bishops of Armagh. During the incumbency of Dublaleth, the annals mention Hugh O'Forrey as Archbishop of Armagh. O'Boil is mentioned as Archbishop of Armagh, while it was occupied by Donald. Why was this? Protestant historians answer, "that the second set of Bishops spoken of was required for the discharge of the episcopal office, as the usurpers were only laymen". The mention, then, of a Bishop's, Priest's, Abbot's, or Archdeacon's son does not at all affect the law of celibacy.

Any person acquainted with the history of the Irish Church must admit that its doctrines and general discipline were identical with those of Rome and the Catholic world. But even without an acquaintance with the early history of our Church, must not the same conclusion be inferred from the canons drawn up at the Synods of Dublin and Cashel? Not only was there "no *essential* difference in religion and discipline", as Dr. Todd says, but there had been no, not the *slightest* difference in religion and general discipline between the Irish and Anglo-Irish churches. Both, with equal sincerity, professed belief in the supremacy of Rome—in the primacy of Peter. Otherwise, we should expect an allusion to the

difference of belief in the canons enacted: the more especially as their professed object was to assimilate the Irish to the Anglo-Irish discipline. The seven canons enacted at the Synod of Cashel in 1172 do not touch doctrine—do not allude to the supremacy of Rome: they required that the baptism of children should take place in a church rather than elsewhere. Now one could no more infer rebellion to Rome from this than we should from the fact that the Council of Thurles, held a few dozen years ago under the Pope's sanction, decreed that the same sacrament of baptism was to be administered in a church. The Irish Church in the twelfth had been in some respect in the same state as in the nineteenth century. Then it suffered from three or four centuries of persecution from the Danes; lately from every variety of persecution since the so-called Reformation. In both epochs from an impossibility of carrying out the laws of the Church the bands of discipline had been relaxed.

Then with regard to marriages within forbidden degrees, there was no reason why the Irish Primate or Archbishop could not get faculties from Rome to grant dispensations as well as the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, as we learn from venerable Bede. The other five canons regard the payment of tithes, immunity to the Church from exactions, exemption of the priests from fines affecting all his relatives, the making of wills, and the decent burial of the dead. These are mostly of a civil nature, and surely do not give the slightest hint of a difference of religion in the least, not to say an essential particular; so far from it, that the seventh and last canon supposes the use of Confession, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and prayers for the dead. Nor can it be objected that these canons were decreed in

ignorance of the practices of the old Irish Church, because in 17 years subsequently, the ecclesiastical regulations laid down by the English Archbishop Comyns regarded chiefly and supposed the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Its treatment forms the subject matter of nine of the canons: and with regard to the others—for instance the thirteenth, touching the chastity of priests—they were enacted not so much for the Irish as the Anglo-Irish; or if for the former, with a view to urge them to perseverance, and guard against the corruption of the alien.*

At the close of the Provincial Synod, Archbishop Comyn wound up by hurling excommunication against all those who resisted the king's authority. If all, however, were like him, English as he was, while the Church would have been holier, the country would have been happier. But they were not: nor did the worth of the Archbishop save him annoyance either from ecclesiastics who came to Ireland for promotion, or from adventurers who came to plunder. Valois de Hamois, who came in 1195 as the representative of royalty, did not form an exception. He seized the ecclesiastical property of the See of Dublin. He would not allow the see of Leighlin to be filled. But the Archbishop of Dublin was not wanting to his duty. He would not tamely submit to a sacrilegious invasion of his revenue. And when he could not bring the governor De Hamois to a sense of duty, he fled the country. Before, however, he left the country, the sacred images in the church were draped in mourning, the crucifixes were crowned with thorns, and the sacred passion was represented.

* The following pages will afford proof of the unsoundness of Dr. Todd's theory—that the Irish Church was not and could not be under Papal influence as much as the Anglo-Irish.

Miraculous effects were said to have followed. As a work of the divine displeasure at the outrage offered to the Church, the body of the image was said to have been covered with sweat, and blood to have flowed from the side.* But while Christ, as was believed, interested himself visibly in the cause of the Archbishop, he did not fail addressing himself to Christ's vicegerent. Innocent the Third, who then sat in the Papal Chair, administered a sharp rebuke to Prince John. This as well as the complaint made by the Archbishop to the King, led to the recall of Valois.

Even the prince was found no less troublesome and disrespectful than the most lawless adventurers. The chapter of Leighlin elected one John as bishop. He was confirmed by the Archbishop of Cashel, but he would not be consecrated. The Archbishop of Dublin was in banishment. The Archbishop of Cashel represented the matter to the Pope, who ordered both the consecration of John to the bishopric of Leighlin and the recall of Archbishop Comyn from banishment. And as though Pope Innocent feared that the newly consecrated bishop might be annoyed or excommunicated by some creature of royalty, the said new bishop, unless for some manifest grievous crime, was put beyond the reach of excommunication.† The cause of the Church triumphed. John of Leighlin was recognized as bishop; Archbishop Comyn was recalled from Normandy; and, what was no less consoling, Valois De Hamois re-

* Leland, B. i., ch. 5.

† The Pope alludes to the possibility of disappointment to John in some expectations. The expectations, probably, referred to the Lordship of Ireland. After the withdrawal of Hamois the annoyance was continued by the prince, who brought on himself a second rebuke. However, there may have been only one rebuke administered by Pope Innocent to Prince John.

pented and atoned for his outrages. He granted to the See of Dublin in free alms, twenty carucates of land.*

In another quarter, too, Innocent III. watched over the freedom of the Irish Church. The Bishop of Raphoe resigned. Pope Innocent seeing that the resignation was not according to due formalities, and fearing that it might not have been voluntary, ordered him to resume his functions for a while, and then in due form accepted his resignation.†

The unworthy conduct of the stranger was imitated by the native.‡ The religious sentiment was weakened. The native ecclesiastics took advantage of the confusion of the times. They did not borrow the

* According to Gerald Barry eight carucates went to form a ploughland. The great kindness of Prince John a short time before this to Archbishop Comyn, is a further commentary on the text, "place not your trust in princes". It is said that he granted Glendaloch to the Archdiocese of Dublin, and that the Archbishop of Cashel confirmed the grant. It ran thus: "Ita scilicet cum Cathedralem Ecclesiam de Glendaloch cum contigerit vacare et Episcopus Dubliniensis Episcopatum tenebit in manu sua, absque omni reservatione; et quod ipse Episcopus de Glendaloch, capellanus sit Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, et vicarius". The authenticity of this document upsets the theory advanced in Dr. Todd's St. Patrick (p. 76), that Ireland had no "Chorepiscopi" since the 7th century.

† This fact alone is sufficient to disprove Dr. Todd's theory. Here a bishop resigns his bishopric. The Pope obliges him to resume his administration; and then having complied with Roman formalities, he is allowed to resign. This happened in a diocese to which, according to Sir John Davis, the king, from weakness or otherwise, did not make an appointment up to the Reformation. What part of the country represented the pure Irish Church more strictly than the territory of the O'Neill? and yet here, as far as I am aware, the English monarchs did not succeed in appointing a single bishop of their own pure choice; yet Dr. Todd would have us believe that the purely Irish part of the Church was less subject to the Pope than the Anglo-Irish portion of it.

‡ In 1180, Donchal plundered Innisfallen, "the treasury of everything valuable; and many of the clergy were slain by M'Carthy. But the vengeance of God overtook M'Carthy".

grosser crimes of their foreign brethren in the ministry. But an undisciplined ambitious spirit was fostered. This spirit showed itself in an unseemly scramble for the bishopric of Ross. One Daniel, by means of forged letters, got himself consecrated at Rome Bishop of Ross. After some time Florence and another, the initial of whose name was E.,* both monks of Ross, went to Rome, each to assert his respective claim to the same bishopric. The Pope referred the matter to the Archbishop of Cashel and to O'Heney, Bishop of Killaloe. They decided against Daniel. In the meantime Pope Celestine died. His successor, Pope Innocent IV., took up the matter. Daniel again went to Rome. He endeavoured to impress his Holiness, and successfully, that the King of Cork and the Dean of Ross from unworthy motives opposed his promotion. He stated that the opposition of the former arose from the non-payment of a sum of money to him promised by a friend of Daniel; that the opposition of the Dean of Ross sprung from the unwillingness which himself showed in promoting an unworthy friend of the Dean. On the strength of this representation the Pope wrote to the Prince and to the Dean, and ordered them to recognize Daniel as Bishop, This made it necessary for Florence to go again to Rome. He put his case as strongly as possible. At last the matter was devolved on the Archbishop of Cashel and on the Bishop of Killaloe. Their decision condemned the other competitors, and confirmed the election of Florence.

The interference of the Archbishop of Cashel in the election of a Bishop for Ardfert brought trouble on him. It would appear that on the death of Donald O'Conarchy in 1193, the Archbishop instituted and

* Epist. of Innoc. iii., 361.

consecrated a candidate for the vacant diocese. He was not canonically elected by the priests of Kerry. However he kept his ground to the great annoyance of the legitimate bishop. On that account Innocent III. wrote to the Archbishop of Armagh and to the Bishops of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, to see to the expulsion of the intruded and to the installation of the legitimate bishop. They were commissioned to suspend the Archbishop of Cashel, because he was supposed indiscreet in consecrating the intruded bishop. But the censure was removed, or rather was never executed; after a few years he died creditably and religiously in the enjoyment of metropolitical jurisdiction.

Already the reader must have seen that the pretended reformation was not brought about by the stranger. Nor indeed was it in the nature of things that such could have been the case. To all human appearances all means were adopted to produce a contrary result. Unhappily by their bad example the invaders made themselves too odious to allow aught of good about them to be imitated. From their royal master down to the strong-armed archer, all with scarcely an exception, while only anxious about carving out a fortune for themselves, were thoroughly indifferent to the welfare of the Church. King Henry who was accessory to the murder of Thomas A'Becket, who, in the year he came to reform the Irish Church, kept on hands one Archbishopric, five Bishoprics, and three Abbeys; who in anger was a lion, and chewed straw like a madman; who paid no regard to the obligation of an oath, and scarcely ever forgave those whom he hated—such was the head of the reforming missionaries in Ireland.* John De Courcey, who in

* Ger. Barry, *Hib. Exp.*, ch. 25. *Madox*, 209-12. Peter of Blois.

1178 and 1189 plundered Armagh, and in 1199 burnt every church and house in it;* Fitzadelm, who plundered St. Patrick's Church in Armagh in 1179; William of Worcester, who in 1184 ravaged Armagh for six days with an army; Henry de Montmorisco, who, in cold blood, hurled scores of individuals from the rock of Carrick; Philip of Worcester, who was distinguished by cruelty and oppression; M'Murrough, who was the close ally of the English, and who died impenitent; Hamo de Valois, who robbed the Church of Dublin; De Lacy, who plundered Clonmacnois, who had De Courcy seized while on his knees on Good Friday in pilgrimage, and whose profanation of a monastery as well as other crimes brought upon him a violent death; Strongbow who according to the Irish Annalists, was the greatest tyrant since the days of Turgesius, and who died full of remorse smitten by the saints of God; William Hail who spared not a church and wasted the whole island in 1179—such men were the prominent characters who figured as missionaries to the Irish Church in the last quarter of the twelfth century.† The Irish Annalists represent them as heathenish in their conduct to churches Nor do the strange *ecclesiastics* appear to have earned a much higher character. Perhaps, considered as ecclesiastics, they were much more despicable. While they entertained the highest idea of their own importance, they regarded the native clergy with contempt. Pride, immorality, ambition, treachery‡ were laid to their charge. Instead of breathing the mild spirit of Jesus, they displayed a

* In 1177 William Hoel, an English Knight, wasted Iniscathy wholly, not sparing even the churches. *King*, p. 244.

† Liber Munerum, *Gesta. Angl.* p. 52.

‡ To prevent De Courcy in Ulster from being attacked by the Irish a friar was sent by the English to deceive them. *Leland*, B. 1, ch. 4.

warlike disposition.* Nothing however perhaps will give us a more lively picture of the state of the Church and of the results of the mission of the stranger in Ireland, than what is said by the tutor of Prince John and the panegyrist of the invasion :—"The cathedral churches mourn", says he, "having been robbed of those lands and estates given by the piety of former ages. They were robbed by those who came over to Ireland. And so far were we from conferring further favours on the Church in our new principality, that having taken away its lands, we rather abrogated its dignities and privileges".† The adventurers were not however unmixedly bad; on the contrary, in their pride, and might, and predominating thirst for plunder and adventure they were more tolerable perhaps than other races. Side by side with the greatest irreligion were often found the strongest faith and tenderest devotion. While they were careful to respect departed saints, they persecuted living saints.‡ They did not exhibit the full religious spirit which characterized their ancestors, but they showed as much goodness as could be expected from men who came determined to rob, and who effectually did so.

But from images of war it is pleasant to turn at this time to a scene which opens to us like a heavenly vision; I allude to the solemn translation of the remains of St. Patrick, St. Bridget,and St. Columbkille.

* Strongbow on his march to Carlow was much harrassed by O'Ryan. But Nicholas, a monk, drew his bow and took him down. True Christian missionaries preferred being armed with a crucifix to the carrying bow and arrow.—*Ibid.*

† *Hib. Expug.*, Pref. B. II., ch. 35.

‡ Agreeably to the bulls of Clement VIII. and of Urban VIII., the appellation of "saint or blessed" to any person not canonized or beatified by the Church is understood in the sense of the authors who used it; and for anything under the name of a miracle not approved of by the same Church no other faith is demanded than human belief by the author.

Some think the matter no better than a mere farce got up by the conqueror of Ulster, John De Courcy, to reconcile the minds of the people to conquest, and to win their affections.* Of all men De Courcy was not a man of expediency.† Least of all could it be said that the remains of the three saints were not in Down. It must indeed be admitted that some, from a desire to support a fanciful theory or comparison, deny that there can be any certainty as to where St. Patrick lay.‡ However, a constant tradition in all ages, even of those whose interest it was to deny the matter, points to his resting-place as in Down.§ Towards the close of the ninth century, owing to the ravages of the Danes, the remains of St. Bridget and St. Columba, together with St. Patrick's were found deposited in different tombs in Down.‖ Very probably they were brought hither, not because

* Dr. O'Donovan followed by Dr. Reeves.

† All of us are familiar with the feats performed by him, as was generally believed—his laying twelve men dead with the arm of a cross, when set on while going through the stations barefooted, on Good Friday—his cleaving a helmet by a stroke of his sword, declaring, if he missed his aim, a resolve to cut off the heads of King Philip and of King John. The story in all its details may not be true, but the tradition of his valor and unsophisticated nature is unquestionable. Hanmer, Marlboro's *Chronicles*.

‡ *Nennius* and *Tirechan*, in order to establish a likeness between St. Patrick and Moses say that there is no certainty as to where they were buried. Usher's *Prim.* p. 462, has the following lines :—

"Currite languentes, Dune, piscina movetur,
Corpora vel mentes ægrotas ipsa medetur".

§ In 1372, the following lines of O'Dugan show the tradition and belief in reference to the resting-place of the three saints :—

"From Dundeleth-glass of the Cassocks ; it is the royal cemetery of Erin ; without any need in gain, there, a town wherein the clay of Columba was covered. In the same grave was buried Bridget the victory of females ; and as we have them, every grave, Patrick of Macha this great grave".

‖ In 877 the remains of St. Columba, those of St. Bridget in 835, were removed to Down.—*Ulster Annals.*

Down was quite exempt from the descent of the Northmen, but because tradition told that St. Patrick was buried there. The first burial-place of St. Columba was in Iona, and that of St. Bridget was in Kildare. But because St. Patrick's remains were in Down, thither too were brought the remains of St. Bridget and St. Columbkille. Even Armagh acquiesced in that belief. And as the Bishop of Down was a chief actor in the translation of the relics, it is hard to suppose that he too could lend himself to a piece of sacrilegious jugglery for a political result. In 1451, the Primate Mey requested Nicholas the Fifth, Pope,* to provide a fit bishop for Down and Connor, in honour of St. Patrick, whose remains, with those of St. Bridget and Columba, were there deposited. Nor, a few years after the occurrence, does what Gerald Barry says to the effect that John De Courcy brought about the translation of the relics, offer any difficulty. For it only means that he co-operated with the Bishop of Down. Besides, the translation is said to have been the result of inspiration.†

For a long time the remains of the three famous saints, Patrick, Bridget, and Columba were deposited in Down. To find out the precise spot in which they lay occupied the attention of Malachy, Bishop of Down. It was the object of his daily thoughts and prayers, and nightly dreams. But at one time while praying rather late at night, a ray of light of a preternatural sort attracted his attention. It moved and played most significantly over a certain portion of the cathedral. He marked the spots; excavations were made; the remains were found. Having secured the cooperation of John De Courcy, Bishop Malachy

* Vid. Registries, vol. iii., fol. 7.a. † Distinc. ch. 18, p. 3.

wrote to Pope Urban in order to the solemn translation of the relics. Cardinal Vivian was sent to preside. The remains were exhumed on the ninth of June. A solemn procession was formed. Fifteen bishops and a numerous train of abbots and monks, headed by the legate, carrying the remains processionally, deposited them in three different coffins in the fittest part of the cathedral.*

A love for monastic institutions from the establishment of Christianity in Ireland strongly marked the Irish character. To such a degree did it manifest itself that writers, speaking of the early Irish Church, compare it for its numerous monasteries to the Thebaid swarming with religious, or to the banks of the Nile. Up to the coming of the English this monastic sentiment was strongly developed. But naturally from the confusion of the times and from comparative poverty, being shorn of their dominions, the native princes were less able to indulge a religious feeling in that direction. At the same time religion viewed in relation to monastic foundations

* A distich, in the Florilegium of Messingham, p. 208, tells us that they were put in one tomb,—Usher. Stanihurst, Vita Sti. Patricii. The hymn in Lauds for their translation, in the seventeenth century, ran thus :—

1.
Sacræ, Patrici, Brigidæ,
Columba, decus Insulæ,
Ossa pie dum colimus,
Votis favete, Supplicum.

2.
Non illa quanquam, tristibus,
Imum radacta in pulverem,
Dudum sepulchris lateant,
Divina virtus deserat.

3.
Sed sancta presenti favet.
Impletque, templa numine.
Sed et futuræ spiritus
Post secla servat gloriæ

4
Hinc ille, qui nostris latet
Cinis sub aris conditus
Ægris medetur efficax
Torquet fugatque dæmones.

5.
Sit, summa, Christi, laus tibi
Acutus judex seculi
Cum patre et almo spiritu
In seculorum secula—Amen.

See Father O'Laverty's valuable history of Down and Connor, vol. i.

suffered less than in other respects. Because what was wanting to the means of the native devotee, was eked out by the religious or repenting disposition of the stranger. These monastic institutions, in the founding of which the stranger had a large share, were of great importance to the Church. Useful, perhaps necessary in all times, they were peculiarly so then. They supplied a want felt then more than at other times. They held out the example of brotherly love to abate the fierce hatred with which the native and the stranger naturally regarded each other. They were fit nurseries for supplying the Sees with bishops; and while they were calculated to correct any excess of national prejudice, they tended to the development of the intellectual and moral qualities. They afforded means of atoning in some way for the injury done to religion; and threw open an asylum to the gentle, unfit to struggle with those rude times, and to the guilty who were weary and wished to be penitent and at rest. The founding of such religious houses proved, what I advanced before, that the same persons who persecuted living saints, were often tender in their devotion to their patron and other saints; that those who pillaged some religious houses were perhaps for that very reason munificent in their donations to others.* Strangers and natives founded them, and appreciated their advantage and beauty. They viewed them under a religious and poetic aspect. The very names of the houses proves it. They were for them, "Melli-

* King John, who kept the see of Ferns for years vacant for the sake of the revenues, gave to the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, one-tenth of the revenues and customs, which used to be received from publicans for beer and mead. Besides it got exemption from all exactions and, unless what concerned the crown, power to hear pleas and complaints.

font",* Abbeys of the "Grace of God", of the "Rosied Valley", of the "Vale of God", of the "River of God", of the "Yoke of God", of the "Camp of God", of the "Living Fountain", of "Glangradh", or "Vale of Charity", of the "Praise of God", and of the "Harbour of Holy Mary".†

Among the writers of the 12th century was Gillibert, Bishop of Limerick, who laboured so much to bring the Irish offices in harmony with the Roman discipline, wrote a work on the *State of the Church* and on *Ecclesiastical Use*,‡ in the twelfth century.

Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote a *Summary of Theology*. Malachy O'Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote many epistles to St. Bernard. He was the author of *General Constitutions*, and a book on *The Laws of Celibacy*, and on *Tradition*. But the most famous of the writings attributed to St. Malachy are the prophecies§ in regard to the Popes of Rome. In this century were written the Visions of Tundall. He was born in Munster about the year 1159. These visions of the other world are said to have been vouchsafed to him in an ecstacy in which he lay for three days as dead.¶ Congan, a Cistercian monk, who lived in the year 1150, supplied materials and incentives to St. Bernard for writing the life of St. Malachy. Besides he wrote the acts of St. Bernard himself. Such was the implicit confidence placed in

* Usher, however, derives this from St. Mell. In 1230, orders were issued to the abbots of Wales, England, and Ireland, to excommunicate, in full chapter, with lighted candles, all or any who killed the Abbot of Mellifont. If the culprit were a cleric, he was to be seized and imprisoned for ever. Grace's Annals.

† This foundation does not show a Protestant tendency.

‡ MSS. Coll. Cantab.—Ussher. Ware.

§ Vid. Arnold Wion, *Lignum vitæ*. Rev. John O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*.—Ware's *Writers*.

¶ Vincent, *Spec. Hist.* lib. 27, chap. 88.—Ware.

him by St. Bernard, that he writes : "I am satisfied of the truth of the story, having received my information from you whom I cannot suspect to relate anything of which you had not certain knowledge".* In the year 1171, Marian O'Gorman published his supplementary martyrology to that of Aengus the Culdee.

In the twelfth century flourished Concubran. The historic and poetic muse was exercised by him in favour of St. Modwen or Moninna, Virgin. Besides her life he wrote alphabetically two hymns in her praise † Eugene, who was bishop of Ardmore in the year 1174, wrote a life of St. Cuthbert, which was a compilation from Irish histories.

In concluding this chapter I may observe that the annalists dwell with emphasis on the visitations which befell the invaders. Such annalists insist that those who had a hand in bringing shame and trouble on a Church striving after perfection, might have anticipated visible chastisements. M'Murrough, who invited the English adventurers to Ireland, died of a strange disease and impenitent. "Strongbow", say the annalists, "died in despair, struck by the saints of God". De Lacy, from a blow by a noble youth named Mey, in Meath, met a violent death. The other principal actors, Robert Fitz-Stephen, Henry De Montmorris, Raymund Le Gros, John De Courcy, and Meyler FitzHenry died without issue. It is a curious coincidence. It has been noticed not only by native but even by the *court* historians of the time, who wrote to defend the conquest.‡ They trace it to a supernatural cause. Certain it is that the Irish, in every age since then to the present, have always looked out for some

* Ware. † Ware.

‡ Gerald Barry calls the Irish saints "vengeful".

manifestation of God's displeasure against the invaders of sacred things and sacred places. The annals of no other country, perhaps, exhibit so many instances of divine interposition, coolly recorded by chroniclers of every shade of temperament, and fully believed, nay anticipated by the people, as the annals of the Irish Church. An angel with a flaming sword appears to have guarded the sanctuary. Evil doers may not always have been checked; for a seared conscience will receive no warning. But such interpositions kept alive in the hearts of the faithful Christian patience, and a lively trust in an overruling Providence.

CHAPTER V.

If one considers that the good of religion was the alleged motive of the invasion of Ireland by King Henry, and that, in the councils held in Cashel in the year 1172, and subsequently in Dublin, under his auspices and by his representatives, nothing new was enacted touching doctrine, it is fairly inferrible that in the Irish Church there had been nothing to reform. By the very fact, without a positive knowledge of the state of the Irish Church then, it may safely be inferred that the doctrines and general discipline were identical with those of Rome.

However, we shall not rest on mere negative proofs for the formation of a judgment on the Irish Church in the twelfth century. We must not be satisfied with the picture afforded by the mere assertion that the Anglo-Normans came to reform the Irish Church, and that, as nothing heretical or schismatical was exhibited by it, it must have been

like the Universal Church. We look for a perfect likeness of the general features, and a more minute delineation of its very lineaments.

There is an old tract in the *Leabhar Breac*, which throws a curious light on the mediæval Church of Ireland.* Though professedly of a disciplinary nature, it incidentally brings into relief several points of Catholic doctrine and practice. It would be very difficult to find a document which, in such a small compass, establishes so many points of Catholic belief and general discipline.

The tract is not as old as some would have it † It is attributed to Pope Leo IV., who sat from the year 847 to 855. But, whoever was its author, it did not probably make its way into the Irish Church before the twelfth century. The following is a literal translation of it from the Latin in very contracted Irish character.‡

"*A synodal discourse to be addressed at each synod to the Parish Priests*". "Brethren, Presbyters, and Priests of the Lord, you are coöperators of our order. We, indeed, however unworthy, hold the place of Aaron, you the place of Eleazar and Ithmar. We discharge the functions of the twelve apostles, you are like the 72 disciples. We are your pastors, you are the pastors of the souls committed to you. We are to render an account of you to the Chief Pastor, our Lord Jesus Christ, you of the souls en-

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 248, col. 2.

† *Ir. Ecc. Record* (for July, 1868) says it is the depository of the remains "of our early Irish Church"; but it represents rather the late mediæval Irish Church. If the synodal address be attributable to Pope Leo, as is very probably the case, it upsets the position of Bouix in regard to parish priests, "that the term *pastor* till lately was seldom or never applied to parish priests".—Vid. *Institut. Juris Canonica*, Tract de Parocho, p. 150.

‡ Vid. App. G.

trusted to you; and, therefore, dearly beloved, see to your danger.* We therefore again advise and beseech your fraternity to endeavour to remember and practise what we suggest.

"In the first place we advise you to have your lives and conversation without reproach. Let your cell be near the church, and have no women in your house. Rise every night to Nocturns. Sing your office at certain hours. Perform religiously the celebration of Mass. Receive the Body and Blood of our Lord with fear and reverence. Wash and wipe the sacred vessels with your own hands. Let no one dare celebrate Mass unless fasting. Let no one sing Mass who does not communicate. Let no one sing it without amict, stola, alb, maniple,† and chasuble; and let these vestments be clean, and be employed in no other uses. Let no person presume to celebrate Mass in the albs used as a personal dress. Let no one dare celebrate Mass with a wooden or glass chalice. Let no female approach the altar of the Lord, or touch the chalice of the Lord. Let the corporal be as clean as possible. Let the altar be covered with clean linens. Let nothing be left on the altar unless the sacred cases and relics, or perhaps the four gospels or the pix with the body of the Lord, as a viatic for the sick. Let the other requisites be

* The *I. E. R.* (for July, 1868) has wrongly substituted *spiritum* for *periculum*.

† "Famorea" (Fanonea recte) is the word in the original, which represented something such as a handkerchief—a white piece of linen previous—to the introduction of the maniple. It was called sudariolum on the Continent, and Fanon in Germany; and was used to wipe away the sweat or tears which accompanied the celebration of the divine office. While some say that the "sudariolum" gave way to the maniple of the present shape and color in the eighth century (vid. Merati, tom 1, p 47), others maintain that it did not get out of general use till the eleventh century.—Vid. Le Brun, tom. 1, p. 47. *Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2, p. 554.—Appendix ad Ord. Rom.

kept in a clean place. Let every one have a Missal, Plenary,* Lectionary, and an Antiphonary. Let there be prepared in a secret spot, or near the altar, a place where water can be poured away when the sacred vessels have been washed, and where a vessel with clean water is kept, that the priest may wash his hands after Communion. Let the church be roofed and vaulted, and the hall be fortified with a fence. Let no one celebrate Mass outside the church, in private houses, or unconsecrated places.† Let no person alone celebrate Mass. Let every priest have a cleric or scholar to read the epistle or lesson and make the responses at Mass, and with whom he can chant the psalms. Visit the sick and absolve them, and, according to the Apostle, anoint them with holy oil, and give them Communion with your own hand, and let none presume to give to a laic or female the Communion for the sick. Let none require a reward or gift for baptizing the infant, absolving the sick, or burying the dead. Take care that no infant die without baptism through your carelessness. Let none of you be of drunken or litigious habits. The servants of God ought not to be litigious. Let no one carry arms for seditious purposes;‡ as your arms ought to be spiritual. Let none make use of sports with dogs or birds. Drink not in taverns. Let each one according to his measure of wisdom on Sundays and holidays explain to the people the gospel or epistle. Whoever has been ordained for the discharge of the most holy

* This was another name for Breviary.

† The original, though in Latin, is written in very contracted Irish characters. The *I. E. Record* has incorrectly expanded the contracted word *inconsecratis* into *inconspectis*.

‡ The *I. E. R.* has blundered by mistaking the contracted form of *arma* for *gemma*, and of *sedition* for *vestimento*, and thus has mistaken the entire meaning of the passage.

ministrations of the altar ought to keep himself free from all sins, but should in an especial manner strive to preserve chastity, and repel every, the least temptation to impurity. For those bring down on themselves the wrath of God who presume to approach Him with guilty consciences and impure bodies. Oh! how terrible it is to handle the Lord's body with polluted hands".

If there were no other document than this in reference to the mediæval Irish Church, it would be quite sufficient to establish its identity in doctrine and general discipline with the Universal Catholic Church. Here we have the distinction made between the Presbyterian and Episcopal order, and the superiority of the latter established. Here we see a belief in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and strict preparation enjoined for its celebration. Fasting and chastity were required. Even as servants women were not allowed to live with a priest. Here we see the sacred vestments were required for the celebration of Mass as at the present day. Faith in the Real Presence inspired respect for every thing about the altar—the linens and especially the corporal. No unconsecrated hand was allowed to touch the sacred vessels or sacred linen. Then as now we meet our Divine Lord not only for the healthy, but kept in a pix for the sick. Then as now we meet with the Missal and Lectionary and the relics of saints on the altar. Then as now it was prohibited to celebrate Mass without a server. Here we have instructions for the sacrament of baptism, Extreme Unction, and confession. Here we have the holidays and festival days put on the same level with the Sunday by the Church of Ireland and that infallible Church of God which established our present Sunday as well as holidays.

The preceding document, though of considerable antiquity, is not so old as may at first be conjectured. While it is not later than the fourteenth, it could not be older than the twelfth century. It is found substantially in the third part of the Roman Pontifical in the "Ordo" for a synod. Many or more critics attribute it to Pope Leo IV., in the year 847; while others insist on a far later date for it.* But I have no hesitation in stating that the version in the "Leabhar Breac" is older than the form found in the Roman Pontifical, and was copied, probably, from a version made in the twelfth century.†

Having said so much incidentally in reference to the discipline of the Irish Church, I shall more formally consider the creed and fundamental prayers in use in the Irish Church during the 12th century.

Beginning with that fundamental Christian prayer called the Lord's Prayer, we find it the same as that in use in the Catholic Church at present. *Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. May Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven; give us to day our‡ daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them who trespass against us: and lead us not into temptation,§ but deliver us from evil.‖ Amen.*

A full, profound, and touching commentary or

* Nardi, *Dei parochi*, tom. 1, p. 41.

† *Leabhar Breac*, p. 248, col. 2. See Appendix H.

‡ Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 348 et seq. In the earlier ages we find the words *supersubstantial bread* used in some formularies.—Vid. *Evangel. Sti. Moling.*, T.C.D.

§ In some ancient formularies is found the form, "Do not allow us to be led into temptation".—Vid. *Book of Dimma*, post Ev. Sti. Lucæ (T.C.D.) et *Evangel. Sti, Moling., Book of Armagh.* Fol. 36. recto.

‖ *Evil.* This word ends the prayer. There is no final addition, *for thine is the kingdom and glory, etc.*, as given in the *Book of Common Prayer*,

paraphrase on this divine prayer is given in the *Speckled Book*. The commentary is fully in harmony with sound Catholic teaching, and breathes a tender mystical spirit.

Then the Virgin was not addressed in a mere few complimentary epithets, but in a long litany to which modern reformers appear so averse. Every thing pure and holy, great, and tender, and thrilling, was drawn on to supply these epithets. Heaven and earth are ransacked for a supply of glorious images.

Epithets or addresses to the Virgin are not limited to the number found in our present Litany of Loretto —45, but extend even to sixty.*

"O Great Mary.
Mary, Greatest of Marys.
Most Great of Women.
Queen of the Angels.
Mistress of Heaven.
Woman full and replete with the Grace of the Holy Spirit.
Blessed and most Blessed.
Mother of Eternal Glory.

* Vid. App. I. I am surprised that O'Curry should state (MSS. Materials, etc., p. 380) that the Litany contained only 59 addresses; the more so, as he quotes from the *Leabhar Breac*. He threw the 8th and 9th last addresses into one This happened, probably, from the difficulty of reconciling the sense of the word *mar Failm*, which means "like a rudder", with the other word *blooming*. Then the word *blooming* was joined by him to the term of comparison—the olive—under which the Virgin is represented in the next address, and makes her "blooming as the olive". For some time I was puzzled; but on looking closely to the word *Failm*, I detected a dot over the letter *F*, and thus found that the word was *ailm* (a palm tree), and that the letter *F* was prefixed to receive the necessary aspirate. Then we have the Virgin addressed as *blooming like the palm tree*, and *fruitful as the olive*.

Mother of the Heavenly and Earthly Church.
Mother of Love and Indulgence.
Mother of the Golden Light.
Honour of the Sky.
Sign of Tranquillity.
Gate of Heaven.
Golden Casket.
Couch of Love and Mercy.
Temple of the Divinity.
Beauty of Virgins.
Mistress of the Tribes.
Fountain of Flower Gardens.
Cleansing of Sins.
Washing of Souls.
Mother of Orphans.
Breast of the Infants.
Solace of the Wretched.
Star of the Sea.
Handmaid of God.
Mother of Christ.
Abode of the Lord.
Graceful as the Dove.
Serene as the Moon.
Resplendent as the Sun.
Destruction of Eve's Disgrace.
Regeneration of Life.
Beauty of Women.
Chief of Virgins.
Enclosed Garden.
Fountain Sealed Up.
Mother of God.
Perpetual Virgin.
Holy Virgin.
Prudent Virgin.
Serene Virgin.
Chaste Virgin.

Temple of the Living God.
Royal Throne of the Eternal King.
Sanctuary of the Holy Spirit.
Virgin of the Root of Jesse.
Cedar of Mount Lebanon.
Cypress of Mount Zion.
Crimson Rose of the Land of Jacob.
Blooming as the Palm Tree.
Fruitful as the Olive.
Glorious as the Sonbearer.
Light of Nazareth.
Glory of Jerusalem.
Beauty of the World.
Noblest Boon of the Christian Flock.
Queen of Life.
Ladder of Heaven.

"Hear the petition of the poor; despise not the wounds and groans of the miserable. Let our devotion and our sighs be carried through thee to the presence of the Creator, for we are not ourselves worthy of being heard, because of our evil doings.

"O powerful Mistress of Heaven and Earth, dissolve our trespasses and our sins. Destroy our wickedness and corruptions. Raise the fallen, the weakened, and the fettered. Loosen the condemned. Repair, through thyself, the transgressions of our immoralities and vices. Bestow upon us, through thyself, the blossoms and ornaments of good actions and virtues. Appease for us the Judge by thy voice and thy supplication. Allow us not to be carried off from thee among the spoils of our enemies. Allow not our souls to be condemned, but take us to thyself for ever under thy protection.

"We beseech and pray thee further, O Holy Mary,

through thy powerful supplication *with thy only Son*,* that is Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, that God may defend us from all straits and temptations; and obtain for us from the God of Creation, that we may all receive from Him the forgiveness and remission of our sins and trespasses, and from Him, further, through thy supplication, the heavenly kingdom, through the eternity of life, in presence of the saints and saintly virgins of the world, which may we deserve, may we occupy for ever and ever. Amen".†

The creed known as the Apostles' was the same in the twelfth century as at present. While it is generally admitted that this creed is substantially the same as left us by the apostles, yet it is anything but certain that they left it in precisely our present form. But a form of a creed in use in the twelfth century tells us not only that it was the work of the apostles, but the precise part or article which each contributed to the symbol of faith. Subjoined is a literal translation of it :—"Peter the Apostle said, *I believe in God the Father.* The Apostle Andrew said, *And in Jesus Christ.* The Apostle John said, *Who was conceived.* James the Greater, *He suffered under Pontius.* Thomas the Apostle, *He descended into hell.* James the son of Alpheus, *He ascended into Heaven.* The Apostle Philip, *Thence He is to come.* Bartholomew said, *I believe in the Holy Ghost.* Matthew the

* O'Curry translates *from thy only Son*, which is unmeaning. The ar in the text I look on as intended for air : "on" or "with".

This litany was indulgenced on 5th September, 1862, by Pope Pius IX., with 100 days' indulgence, applicable to the souls in purgatory.

† The Immaculate Virgin was honoured not only with a "Hail! Mary, and holy Mary", but even with the form of prayer known as the "*Angelus*", *etc.* "*Pater* prius agus post '*Angelus dixit*' ininsola dicitur ara".—Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, pp. 99–100.

Apostle, *The Holy, Holy Church.** Simon the Canaanean, Apostle, said, *The Communion of Saints.* Thaddeus the Apostle, *The resurrection of the flesh.* Matthew the Apostle, *And life everlasting.* Amen".† The brevity of this creed, and the minuteness with which its respective parts are assigned to their respective apostolic authors, tend to give it claim to a very high antiquity. The Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian creeds are only developments of the Apostles' Creed. The various developments were given in order to explain each doubt that was raised, to meet each error that was successively broached. The less developed the form in which we find the creed, the stronger the antecedent probability of its claim to antiquity. Judged by this canon, the Irish form of the creed would appear to be older than our present more developed one. However, there is reason for doubting not only the peculiar allocation of each part respectively, but even whether such an arrangement and form were known so late as the fourth century.‡

There was another form of the creed used not only in the twelfth century, but even so early as the eighth, by the Irish Church. It is found in the venerable antiphonary of Bangor, and it is thus arranged § :— "I believe in God the Father Almighty, the invisible

* This means *most holy*. Thus, the *most holy* Trinity is designated *sancta sancta*. Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p 198, col. 1.

† *Leabhar Breac*, p. 102.

‡ St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Pamach.* says: In Symbolo .... quod ab Apostolis, traditum non scribitur in charta et atramento sed in tabulis cordis, &c., post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem ecclesiæ omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum *carnis resurrectione* concluditur". Rufinus, too, says: "Ultimus iste sermo qui *resurrectionem* prænuntiat summum totius perfectionis succinta brevitate concludi".

§ Muratori, Ann. vol. iii., p. 145.

creator of all things visible and invisible. I believe also in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, omnipotent God, conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, who was crucified and buried, descended into hell, the third day arose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Thence He will come to judge the living and the dead. I believe, too, in the Holy Ghost, omnipotent God, having one nature with the Father and the Son, that the Church is holy,* the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh. I believe in life after death, and eternal life in the glory of Christ. All this I believe in God. Amen". In this creed we find an allusion to the *Communion of Saints* omitted ; but it can well be supposed included in a belief *in the holy Church.*†

* Sanctam esse Ecclesiam. From this construction one is to infer that the belief was professed in the sanctity of the Church, and its energizing existence supposed. In a form for baptism in an Irish Missal of the 12th century, one of the interrogations is, " Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctamque Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem mortuorum in vitam eternam". *Irish Missal* edited by F. E. Warren, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

† St. Cyprian in his Epistle to Magnus and Liberalis has *remissionem peccatorum per Ecclesiam.*—*Museum Italicum*, by Mabillon, vol. 2, p. 396. St. Augustine, Maximus of Tours, St. Peter Chrysologus, and others omit sometimes the *Communion of Saints.*

I may mention that there is a *Creed* in the Bobbio Irish Missal, resembling very much the creed in the *Leabhar Breac* already alluded to. " Petrus dixit: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. Johannes, dixit: Credo in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum Deum et Dominum nostrum. Jacobus dixit: Natum de Maria Virgine per Spiritum Sanctum. Andreas dixit: Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum et sepultum. Philippus dixit: Descendit ad infera. Thomas dixit: Tertia die resurrexit. Bartholomaeus dixit: Ascendit in coelos sedet ad deteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Matthaeus dixit: Inde venturus Judicare vivos et mortuous. Jacobus Alphaei dixit: Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Simon Zelotes dixit: Credo in Ecclesiam Sanctam. Judas Jacobi dixit: Per baptismum sauctum remissionem peccatorum. Mat-

If the Irish MSS. present us with a creed of the Apostles of unexampled brevity, so too do they furnish us with a development of it modelled apparently on that of the so-called Athanasian creed. The development treats more fully than this creed of the several points of belief in regard to the Three Divine Persons, but especially in regard to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. It is stated to be the creed taught by SS. Peter and Paul, the creed taught by Pope Sylvester to the Emperor Constantine, and the very creed brought by St. Patrick to Erin.* It is as follows:—"Whoever would obtain peace and happiness in the Lord and salvation of soul, must have full knowledge of and faith in Him, as no good which a person may do will avail him without this faith. The Father Almighty was always and before creatures, and without beginning; He created without any pre-existing matter all the elements, fills heaven and earth, and governs them. He is Triune: He is three and one, that is three in persons—namely, the heavenly Father, the origin and source of the Godhead; the only begotten Son of that Father, coeval and equal to Him in all perfections; and the Holy Ghost, equal to the Father and the Son, is conjointly and simultaneously from the Father and the Son. For as Father, He is neither the Son nor Holy Ghost; and as Holy Ghost, He is neither Father nor Son. He is one God, however, in three, and not three Gods; one Creator, not three Creators; one Lord, and

thias dixit: Carnis resurrectionem in vitam æternam.—Vid. *Museum Italicum*, Vol. 2, p. 396. The creed used at Mass in the Irish (Stowe) Missal was principally the Constantinopolitan one. See chapter on Liturgy.

* *Vision of Adamnan.* Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 256. I am happy in partially carrying out a wish expressed by the great Brehon scholar O'Donovan (vid. *Ir. Gram.* p. 444), that the vision would be translated. I am not aware that this *creed* was ever translated.

not three Lords; as it is one divine nature they have, so, too, they have but one will, and power, and dwelling; since they are together in every place, and their action is conjoint, they conjointly create and govern every creature. One is not older than another, as they were before all creatures and all times, without beginning of existence, and shall have no end.

"The second Person of the Trinity, that is the Son, who was before creatures and times, came in union with the Father and Holy Ghost to rescue the race of Adam. He came from Heaven in the course of ages to redeem and save the human race, which had been up to that time under the bondage and curse of the devil; and He assumed human to the Divine nature under one Person, and became thenceforward God and Man; up to that He had been only God.

The Father always and the Holy Gost are only as God.

As every person when he goes to heaven loves with his lawful soul and body; so Jesus Christ now loves, since His divinity has become the eternal and His humanity the temporal price.

"He was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary not by coition with man, but by the power and blessing of the Holy Ghost. He was born after nine months without a shadow of stain, without opening her womb. He was the cause among men of obtaining good, and guarding against evil, of freeing the race of Adam from the devil and hell, while as God He is in His everlasting glory in heaven. He worked miracles and marvels, healed every disease, raised the dead, suffered need and poverty and hunger, and irreverence and contempt, shame and blasphemy, and every thing evil, in hope that every thing good should be our portion through His life. He offered Himself to bonds and injustice for us, and to be nailed and die

on the cross, in order to save us from the furnace of the devil and to free us from the pains of hell, and in order that after leaving this life we may, through His sufferings and cruel death, obtain life everlasting.*

"After His soul was separated from His Body, it went into hell on account of the faithful who were there in darkness. For it was to hell every person had to go up to that, and the human race had to remain there till the death of Christ; His Soul afterwards was united to His Body, after having risen from the dead and been three days in the grave.

"As on Friday He was crucified† and buried, on that account it is a day of sorrow and *abstinence*. On Sunday He rose from the dead, and came to His disciples and apostles to comfort and strengthen them by His instructions and blessings.

"On Ascension Thursday, indeed, He ascended to heaven in presence of His apostles and disciples, and now is at the right hand of the Father in glory and unspeakable sovereignty above angels and archangels, in supreme authority in heaven and earth, equal in glory and power to the Father and Holy Ghost, true God and true Man, a slave while a Lord, a creature but at the same time a Creator in His glory.

"From His supreme sovereignty in heaven He will come on the Day of Judgment amid angels and archangels, the saints and faithful, to pronounce sentence

* The Life of Christ was thirty-three years in duration, according to the *Leabhar nah-Uidhre* (p. 31), but according to *Leab. Breac* (p. 78), thirty-three years, three months, and two days.

† Our Saviour is represented crucified with the left foot lapped and spiked on the right, in the *Leabhar Breac*, but it is otherwise in the other Irish drawings.

on each person in particular according to his good or bad deeds.

"The earth shall fade away, and on that account shall be resuscitated all who lived since the beginning of the world, and who shall die on to the world's end. The world from the rising to the setting sun, from earth to heaven, shall be one mass of blazing fire. Sinners shall be crying and lamenting from sorrow and weariness, not to speak of the wrecking conflagration, as they shall not be placed among the faithful. Before their Creator and Judge shall be placed in one assembly the inhabitants of heaven and earth and hell. The sinners, however, shall be on the left: that is, the gluttonous, the adulterous, the dishonest, the passionate, the spiteful, the envious, and contentious, those given to worldly sadness and weariness, the ostentatious and the proud —all this gathering shall be put with the devil and the wicked, and they shall be shut in and guarded in dark cursed prisons, without light or comfort, without food or drink, without covering, without any the least good, but in everlasting darkness and weariness, perpetual crying and lamentation, want and hunger during all eternity, demons flogging them with two avenging flails, while quenchless fire shall everlastingly consume them.

"The wicked shall suffer there endless evils without protection or comfort. Gladly would they die, but they never shall know death. Alas! that a person should be father or stand sponsor to the devil in anything, because of the death that follows it. For painful is the concentration of all these evils day and night during all eternity.

"But the faithful and penitent shall be carried in honour and glory to the everlasting abode of the heavenly kingdom, in communion with the angels and

archangels, with the saints and faithful of the world, in presence of the Blessed Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, without any tie to the world, but in everlasting light and happiness and eternal peace, without fear of death or hell".

After some moral reflections on the folly of not providing for our last end, suggested by the last article of the Creed in reference to Christ the Second Person, the writer continues the dogma connected with the Second Person of the Trinity.*

"Jesus Christ, son of the King of Heaven and earth, the Second † Person of the most Holy Trinity, coeval and coequal with the Father and the Holy Ghost, true God and true man, the High Priest and Chief Bishop, offered in this great offering Himself on the altar of the cross for all, and ransomed the human race. On the night before His crucifixion He offered His flesh and blood and gave them to His apostles to be eaten, and to be left to His apostles and the entire church to the end of the world the use of same offering, to be continued in order to commemorate the sacrifice which He made of Himself on the cross even to death, in obedience to His heavenly Father and in fulfilment of His will. This is the sacrifice which was full of thanksgiving to God, and propitiatory of His anger against the condemned race of Adam: because it contained the merit of obedience and humility, of charity and mercy, and of dutiful observance for the children of the human race in general.

* J. C. is called, of course by mistake, in Tṁeṙ ṗeaṙṙon (*Leab. Breac*, p. 257, 1st col., 1st line), and a like mistake, curious enough, occurs in *Leabhar na Huidhre*, p. 31, col. 2, 5th line from bottom.

† He is called the Third Person, by mistake of course. Vid. App. J.

"Whenever then each tribe after the other* . . . and each person at once remembers and believes in this sacrifice and meditates on it, then* . . . he directs* . . . for heaven, because in this offering he derives benefit from the crucifixion of Christ, in it He is sorrowfully crucified for me, and by this sacrifice man is freed from the anger of God, from the power of the devil, and from his own sins.

"As the children of Jerusalem had the brazen serpent, according to what God directed when a plague of serpents came on them in the desert; and as each one saluted the serpent, nothing could harm him after he had looked on the brazen serpent; so, too, whoever thinks on and believes in Christ on the cross shall not be hurt by the enemy nor by the temptations of demons: for whoever contemplates the cross before him shall be saved by the contemplation and looking on the Crucified.

"It is to be observed that this sacrifice is made by command of God: that is, to commemorate how He acted Himself in His passion, in order that there should be no want of remembrance of Him or loss of faith in those who were to live after the Passion, and were not present at it. For if the Offering *were only a sign or token*, in the absence of His real Body and real Blood, by which to-day commemoration is made of Him, those who lived after the sacrifice of the Cross would not profit by it so as to be saved, as it was not in their time and presence it took place, unless they had in their own present time the *same oblation* which we witness under the same appearance. But it is not indeed a mere sign; as while the unbelievers refuse to receive it as the body and blood of man, the faithful do not object to receive it, and thus their belief in

* There is a blank here.

these, though not under their natural appearances, is profitable to them.

"For as formerly it was profitable to believe in the Divinity of Christ *under the lowly appearances of humanity*, so now it is advantageous to believe in It *under the appearance of bread*. As it was offered by our common Royal Priest, that is, Jesus Christ, who first offered Himself in this oblation for all the human race, so now each priest in person and by virtue of the words of the oblation makes a like sacrifice for them. The priests are to act as was done before them, and as they were taught to act as Himself, that is Jesus Christ, the real Priest who blesses and sanctifies the invisible part of the sacrifice each day, whoever may be the priest, through the visible ministration of his hands.

"He is the experienced teacher and the true physician, who points out the road of salvation by which to go in face of the temptations of the enemy and the poisonous serpents, who strengthens and supports and resuscitates what is on earth to heaven: since no one goes to heaven unto whom Christ does not come. Christ, in order not to be away from you, has left Himself for those who receive His body and blood or who have a desire to receive them. There is another reason why He left this means of support—in order that there should be only one body in the entire Church of Christ, in imitation of the real Oneness *of His one body* through which we all receive *His real flesh and real blood*, and in imitation of the one Faith and the common Charity amongst them.

"This is the Oblation above all others most honourable and acceptable in the sight of God and the heavenly hosts. It is the chief and flower of pledges and offerings. It is more valuable in His sight than

all possessions and treasures of silver and gold, and most advantageous to the human race.

"All other offerings were only shadows and figures of this. This is the substance and the reality; and whatever virtue or power of saving, of cleansing the soul, or averting the anger of God, was in the blood of rams or goats or the nine calves, yet of themselves all these, unless in reference to the precept and revelation of the true sacrifice, would not have been acceptable to God though offered by Abel and Noe and Abraham, who offered his own son before the altar in fetters, and thus prefigured the heavenly Father offering us His Son on the altar of the cross.

"This is the oblation typified by the oblations of bread and wine formerly offered by Melchisedech. This is the *true* paschal lamb by which the first born of Israel was saved. This is the heavenly treasure for which persons forsook and forsake every other treasure. This is the red cow three years old whose blood sprinkled on the children of Israel blessed and sanctified them.

"When indeed the Sacrament of the body of Christ is blessed and consecrated, Christ Himself is there at the same moment on our altars amid the angels and archangels of heaven. Since it is not the priest, a mere representative, that performs the sacrifice at all though he is seen at the ministration, but Jesus Christ Himself who prepares the feast and consecrates the bread and wine into the nature of His real flesh and real blood at the same moment the priest pronounces the words which Christ uttered when He instituted this Oblation. Because Christ is the Priest and the Oblation here. There are three parties present at the offering of *the body and blood of Christ*. To wit, the priest with his visible ministration in presence of the others; secondly, the angels and archangels of

heaven as sureties and witnesses to him of the assisting hand of Christ; and thirdly, Christ Himself in the feast, who blesses and consecrates the bread and wine which are made into the body and blood of Christ Himself.*

"What a pity, unless prevented by urgent necessity, that ever one should not come to the church at the time of making this Oblation in communication with Jesus Christ and the heavenly Host to bewail our sins, to obtain help for them, and strength for the soul! What a pity that one is so ready and quick to go to the perishable banquet, but slow to approach that Feast which contains everlasting life and salvation for evermore! What a pity that one does not apply himself to good deeds and works on account of this Oblation in preparation for the time of offering it, and in order to receive it with proper sorrow and sincere faith! Whoever then would partake of eternal life should share in this Oblation and receive the heavenly food with faith, at the proper time, and with sorrow. For whoever receives it with contrition and tears, with a lively faith and great respect in his soul, becomes the seat and consecrated temple of God. But whoever receives with unpreparedness shall meet a contrary fate; that is, whoever receives it without contrition for his sins and a strong belief that he is receiving the real flesh and blood of His Saviour, without suitable respect in his heart, receives it only as common food. However, for each person in this wonderful Feast the bread and wine are changed *into the real body and blood of Christ.* People, then, always believe without hesitation or doubt of the truth and efficacy of

* This idea seems borrowed from St. Gregory the Great—vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 48.

the discourse or words; that is, without doubt of Christ. Who so often uttered them. Let every person, then, believe that He is all powerful, and remember the great wonders He worked without any pre-existing materials. He changed the entire atmosphere into rain at the deluge; rods into serpents, and the serpents into rods in Egypt; water into blood, and blood into water; the dust into toads; the Red Sea was made to overflow; the Jordan was dried up; water sprung from the rock; and the other marvels worked in the Old and New Testaments for the edification of man. All the miracles which God performed from the beginning of the world were done for our edification; and He who performed these great wonders, in like manner has out of the bread and wine prepared a feast of His body and blood. Instances of His miracles of common and daily occurrence are presented to us. For our good He changes the watery elements into flesh and bones and life. He changes the earth itself into life and crops and bone, and the bones into crops. He changes the rain into lakes and streams, and these again He transforms into rain. He converts the crops into earth, and the trees into flesh and blood and bone of persons. He, then, who works such marvellous changes in bodies to support a perishable life, it is not unnatural that He would, out of anything produce a feast of His own body, in order to leave us lasting food which secures to us everlasting happiness. For that food is the heavenly seed by which the garden of the faithful is enriched; by it the earth shall be renewed on the day of judgment; by it the people shall be saved and freed from the heaviness and dulness of this perishable body—from the troubles and sufferings of hell—and by which shall be acquired real life and glory in company with the heavenly host.

"He who blesses five loaves so as to satisfy 5,000 persons and to have the leavings fill 12 baskets; He who ordinarily produces 100 grains out of one, and the entire crop, in a word, from the blessing at the beginning of the world given by Christ to the earth and its produce, He blesses the pure grain of His body and blood so as to produce a rich garden to fill the entire world from the rising to the setting sun, in which all the faithful, from the beginning of the Gospel till the day of judgment, have been and shall be satisfied.

"A small quantity of this body of Christ is no less valuable than a larger portion of it, and a larger portion not more valuable than a merest fragment of it, since the entire and a fragment are equally full of the body of Christ in every division of it, and have the same healing and saving power for each person. The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is neither worse nor better in itself in relation to one person rather than another, for the sin of man does not avail to soil or deteriorate it, nor does its goodness receive an addition from the goodness or sanctity of any person however holy or great. It rather confers goodness and sanctity on every person in church and state".

The ablest polemic, the profoundest theologian could not employ clearer terms to express the Catholic doctrine than does the Irish writer. He appears to have anticipated the very language used by the sacred Council of Trent for explaining the nature of the sacrifice. God is represented as priest and victim, the visible ministration of the priest being merely made use of. The sacrifice is represented as commemorative of the past, significant of a real change that takes place, and full of graces and rich hopes. The change from bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is declared wonderful. But in order

to strengthen the faith of the faithful, they are reminded of the miracles performed by God in the Old and New Testament. They are reminded of the marvels that meet us in the physical world about us, and the no less strange conversions or changes of substances within ourselves; and thus man is encouraged to give his undoubting faith to the stupendous mystery of the Eucharist, because God is able and willing to effect what He promised.

After the *Creed* the faithful are taught to confess their sins to the chief saints in the Old and New Law after God, and beg their intercession with him. The Catholic Church, in this general "*Confiteor*", makes her children "beseech the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, the holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, to pray to God for them".

We must not be surprised at finding peculiar respect to those heavenly spirits to whom we make confession of our guilt, and whose intercession we invoke in the *Confiteor*. First of all was Mary the ever blessed Queen of Heaven and earth, and one placed beside her eternal Son in heaven.* Then St. Michael is honoured above all the angelic host. He is represented as the "angel who announced to the Virgin the annunciation of redemption, to the women at the sepulchre the resurrection of our Saviour, and who will come to rouse and summon all to judgment. It is to him is entrusted the charge of conducting souls after death, owing to his faithful stand in the ranks of rebellious angels, either to paradise or punishment". Even in eternal punishment they are represented as looking into the face of St. Michael in confidence in his intercession; and he in turn is re-

* Leabhar na hUrohpe, p. 28.

presented as seeing God's face for them. They are represented as saying, "*Michael*, thou art our king, *thou workest for us always*"; while he answers, "*I constantly intercede with the Lord for the souls of people*".*

St. Michael being invoked as chief of the angelic choir† after the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist was specially invoked as the head of all the saints of the Old Law.

As chiefs of all the saints of the New Law were SS. Peter and Paul, and first was St. Peter. As grounds for this special confidence and respect, not to speak of his personal virtues, the Irish Church recognised him as the "*foundation of the Church, the shepherd of all within the fold, and one who had the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*".‡

Then St. Paul, having suffered on the same day with him, and during life having laboured more than all the apostles, he is addressed as the twin intercessor with St. Peter for the faithful.§

* Ise sobis occoí arnahainmib bit aniffrnd. Uair intan atchiat muinter iffrd gnus naem Michel Archangel issed so atberut. "A Michel is tu ar rig". "Amichel is tu shaethraigestar arcend dogres". *Bi misi icattach in choimded dogres frí animib na ndaoine*". *Leabhar Breac*, p. 73, col. 2,

† Some dedicated the days of the week to seven Archangels—Monday to Michael, Tuesday to Raphael, Wednesday to Urial, Thursday to Sarial, Friday to Panuhel, Saturday to Gabriel; but Christ was invoked before all to be under and above and within the invoker. *Aingil dá dom din, foucaing in clé achiam.* As there were nine degrees of saints, so there were nine degrees of Angelic spirits, of which Saint Michael was head. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 262, col. 2. Others had a special devotion to the adorable Sacrament on Thursday owing to its institution by our Lord on that day. —*Ibid.* p. 4, col. 2.

‡ Oegaire inchinedu ire indhail forra. Fochaigend inecclair ire eochair na flathaid némda. Lebor Breac, p. 173, col. 1.

§ ir and sin doberal aittche do cech oen thriamsnide na naidarscol sin. *Ibid.*

Of all the saints of the Old Law it was St. John Baptist's death that was supposed to hasten the end of the world:* and it was for the purpose of averting a visitation likely to occur on the anniversary of his festival that St. Adamnan was favoured with the vision.

St. John was pronounced by our Irish writers "the prince of Prophets, the chief among hermits, the greatest of virgins, deserving a distinguished place as an Apostle among the Apostles";† and adopting the language of the Holy Ghost, they said "that a greater man was not born of woman".

But perhaps more clearly than any panegyric does the *Vision of Adamnan* exhibit the special honor paid by the Irish to the saints invoked in the *Confiteor*. For this reason, as because it sheds a strong light on the devotional practices of the Irish Church, I give a translation of a Triduum or three days' devotion, recommended to Adamnan in a vision, for averting a plague.‡ This plague, then impending on account of the sins of the people and neglect of religious

* *Is in digail marbtha eòin baūp din, tic in Scūip a fanait do erglanad erin fria deriud domain . . . . Aireran dx denscoba . . . Riágáil dx Tri lua agus teora oidche forbtian bes inplaysa inèrin . . . .* Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, *p.* 94.

† *Ibd.*, *p.* 188, *col* 1. *Faid tra eter Faidib infersa, id est, eoin Ditheìruaach eìr Ditheìruachaib. Anchara eìr ancharib. og eìr ogaib. Apstel eìr apstallucen comboi in airem apstail".*

‡ O'Donovan (*Ir. Gram.*, p. 440) sees no grounds for questioning the authenticity of the vision. Adamnan died cir. 704. The plague was to take place on the Feast of the Beheading of St. John Baptist, at the end of the cycle, on a Friday, in a bissextile and embolismal year. "Nunquam tres communes anni simul, sed duo tantum post eos Embolismus, et aliquando post unum communem. sequitur embolismalis et (quamvis raro) aliquando Embolismales duo, quæ apparent in cyclo 95 annorum.

Embolismus quia fuerunt excrescentes, continens 13 lunationes. Et sic una mensis addita fuit ad annum". Vid. Petav. *de ratione tem.*

observances, was to be averted by a solemn Triduum of the following character :—

"Four things have been enjoined by God and St. Patrick on the men of Erin to guard against plagues, to wit, a fast at quarter tense, the making plain what is rough, and putting in order each church on the part of those in orders and students by giving Baptism, Communion, and by singing the requiem prayers, and the observance of the Sunday. The Cross of Christ should be kept in Erin as a preservative in each house without habits of faith. Three Patrons are given us by God to guard against the visitations for which the fast has been ordained—*Peter* the Apostle, the *Virgin Mary*, and *Michael* the Archangel.

The first of these four ordinances given by God and St. Patrick to the men of Erin is abstinence from food each quarter tense, and prayers, and making plain what is rough, since this is a work most pleasing to God of all the works done on earth. It is right to go through the fast on the occasion of any plague or visitation on man, cattle, or crops: that is, abstinence from eating or drinking for three days and * nights on every man together with his cattle, engaged in this Triduum. There is no plague that may not thereby be stayed if only all, during it, give themselves to prayer. If there be a great necessity, two days and a night might be curtailed from the term of fasting, provided the required works are gone through.

The time usually appointed for going through the first triduum is the Wednesday after the beginning of the Winter Lent † (Advent): the second season is the

* In the Old Law, too, God ordered that the cattle should abstain with the Ninivites from food.

† Wednesday in Irish means *the first Friday*, so much so that I should translate it so, and wrongfully, were it not I knew that there could not be three fast days in succession beginning on a Friday

first Wednesday after the beginning of the Spring Lent. The third period is the Wednesday after Pentecost. The fourth greater fast takes place on the first Wednesday in the beginning of harvest. A fast, however, is to be observed on the festival of *St. John the Baptist*, as then a plague is apt to set in.

Whoever disregards the triduum from a repugnance to fasting, prayer, the worship of God, and the duty of saving his own soul, is fineable in an ‡ ounce, together with the best cow among the whole drove, and whoever interferes with any one engaged in the triduum while it lasts, in violation of the triduum, shall forfeit his rights and privileges till the end of the year. § No person is exempt from the Triduum except the sick, the old, and the young, who cannot fast, as well as those who are in charge of cattle and other necessary works, but even the latter are to observe the fast and fighil ‖ till midday. A holiday is

without interference from Sunday. Four days of the week in the Irish language were named from reference to religion—Dómnach, Aine, Ceadaine De-ardaoin, Aine-iarmeádhon. Literally they mean "The Lord's day", 'Fast day', 'First fast day', 'Day between two fast days'.

Few, if any, languages in Europe have so Christianized as the Irish the names of the days of the week. Perhaps the Portuguese is no exception. Its days are called Feria 1ma, Feria 2da, etc. In ecclesiastical language the *Feria* meant a day free for the service of God. See the sixth lesson for the Office of St. Sylvester, in the Roman Breviary.

‡ The *unga* varied from 20d to 10s. It was generally employed to denote a fine for violation of law.

§ This would appear to be the first germ of the *Truce of God*.

‖ There has been great diversity of opinion as to the meaning of *Crossfihill*. A learned writer in the I. E. Record (January 1872, note to p. 184) states that it means a prayer said on the knees or in a prostrate state with the hands outstretched. It can scarcely have that meaning, as it is applied to those who may be standing or sitting. Dr. Reeves (*on Culdees*, R.I A., p. 205, note ii.) says that it means "a prayer said with the hands literally outstretched in the form of a cross," and that while there is proof of this being its real meaning in the fact that Moyses is described

to be kept after the Triduum by each person observing it.

One is fined a cow and an ounce who gives any

as having his hands raised in *crossfighil* whereby he defeated the Amalecites, it proves that O'Clery is wrong in saying it meant "a prayer said with the hands crosswise". Why, it is quite the reverse. O'Clery, in his glossary, says that crossfighill means a prayer with the hands outstretched, "Crossfighill, urnaighte non faire do ni doine ar a glunib agus a lama sinte a grois". (Vid. *Gloss.*)

While Dr. Reeves attributes an opinion to O'Clery which he did not entertain, his own opinion does not appear tenable. He appeals to a passage in the *Vision of Adamnan*, in which occurs a few sentences below that of which now I am treating: Uair in tan conocbad moiri alamu h. i. crorrigill fria dia no muided forrna gentib—for whenever Moses raised his hands in *crossfigill* to God, the heathens were defeated". Now commentators on this passage of Exodus (xvii. 2) maintain that the arms were raised in the form of a cross.

But the question depends not so much on what commentators in general think, but what meaning did the Irish writer in the *Leabhar Breac* give to the word? We shall see that in the sentence next to that of which I am treating "Concocbat allamu—*they raised their hands* meant an uplifting, for it is added dochum nime "to Heaven"; and therefore conocbad alamu hi crorrigil means an uplifting of the hand in the form of a cross. Besides if *crossfihil* meant the lateral stretching out of the hand, it is not ocba "uplifting" would have been used but rinte "outstretched"; and in describing this posture it is the very word employed in the same *Leabhar Breac*. Caramail na crochi imduina agur alamu rinte (not ocbad) imdaighta. "The cross is like man with the hands *stretched out* in prayer". Vid. *Leab. Breac*, p. 234, Col. i. l. 17.

To show that *crossfihil* did not necessarily include kneeling, we have only to look to the Milan glosses (Gadoilica, 21) "agus issi briathar suile dana cumgabail suas dochum nde, agus issi briathar choirp dana intan roichter do dia ocslechtan agus chrois figill". Here we see that crossfihil did not include genuflections, as the word *ocslecthan* was added.

Crossfihil is literally the vigil cross: it meant the cross formed by the hands *on the breast*, as I conceive, during prayer or meditation. By and by it came to signify not merely the attitude of prayer but the prayer itself. Thus we have in the *Leabhar Breac*, (p. 54, col. 2) "that *slectana na crosfigil* were not performed during the Paschal time", and the Latin gloss on it is "non flectuntur genua in oratione".

annoyance to another engaged in the triduum, and the penalty extends to the end of the year. Nothing else may be undertaken during the time devoted to fasting and prayer, the salvation of the soul, and instruction and celebration. A hundred genuflections are to be made at the *Biat* * and the *Magnificat* † and *Benedictus*, ‡ and *Miserere mei Deus;* and the Cross figell is to be observed at the hymn of Patrick,§ and the hymn of the *Apostles*,‖ while the hands are clapped at the hymn *dicat*,¶ and the hymn of Michael,** and all genuflect thrice at the end of each hymn and strike their breasts three times at each genuflection, and all pray for mercy of God, the kingdom of Heaven, and protection against the plague. Afterwards there is a throwing up the hands to Heaven, and then is invoked the blessing of God and Patrick, and all the Irish Saints on themselves and all engaged in the triduum, laymen or religious; and for them is offered every prayer addressed to God and St. Patrick, as God grants everything that is desirable to prayer and fasting.

* It means the *Beati immaculati*, Ps. 118, or *Beatus vir*, Ps. 111.

† The Magnificat instead of "Recordatus" had "(memorare) misericordiæ suæ"—*Lebor Imuin* T.C.D.

‡ In the *Benedictus* at the words *sicut locutus, etc.*, we have in the old Book of Irish hymns "Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum qui ab evo sunt ult liberavit nos ab inimicis nostris et de manu omnium qui oderunt nos"—*Ibid.*

§ There were two hymns of St. Patrick—one composed by himself, the other composed in his honour by St. Seachnall. The former is in Irish, the latter in Latin. An entry in the Old Book of Armagh (fol. 16, a, a), after speaking of the four observances to be kept on the 17th March, says of the third, "Ymnum ejus per totum tempus canere" (during the festival); the fourth observance was "*Canticum ejus Scoticum* semper canere". From this, coupled with the fact that the Irish hymn was sung against danger, we may infer probably that the Irish hymn was the one prescribed in the triduum. In the text is a translation of the hymn composed by St. Patrick against all danger on his way to Tara. It was a sort of corslet against enemies. For a specimen of the corslet-prayer (lorica) which became very usual, see App. K.

‖ See App. L. ¶ See App. M. ** See App. N.

"It is by fasting the people of God came through the sea, etc.".

Subjoined is a translation of the Irish hymn of St. Patrick referred to in the Triduum.

"I bind myself to-day to the strong virtue of an invocation of the Trinity. I believe a Threeness under the Oneness in the Creator of elements. I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Christ's birth with his baptism, to the virtue of crucifixion with his burial, to the virtue of resurrection with ascension, to the virtue of coming to the judgment of doom. I bind myself to-day to the virtue of ranks of cherubim, in obedience of angels, in service of the archangels, in hope of resurrection for reward, in prayers of patriarchs, in predictions of prophets, in preachings of apostles, in beliefs of confessors, in innocence of holy virgins, in deeds of righteous men.

I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Heaven, to light of sun, to brightness of snow, to blaze of fire, to speedof lightning, to swiftness of wind, to depth of sea, to stability of earth, to hardness of rock.

I bind myself to-day to God's virtue to pilot me, God's might to uphold me, God's eye to look before me, God's ear to hear me, God's word to speak for me, God's hand to guard me, God's way to lie before me, God's shield to protect me, God's host to secure me against snares of demons, against seductions of vice, against lusts of nature, against every one who wishes ill to me afar and near, alone and in company.

So I have all these virtues between me and evil against every cruel, merciless power opposed to my body and soul, against incantations of false prophets, against black laws of paganism, against false laws of heresy, against craft of idolatry, against spells of

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 259, col. 1.

women and smiths and Druids, against every knowledge that has defiled man's soul.

Christ to protect me to-day against poison, against burning, against drowning, against wound, until a multitude of rewards come to me.

Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me, Christ in me, Christ below me, Christ above me, Christ at my right, Christ at my left, Christ in fort, Christ in seat, Christ in poop, Christ in the heart of every one who thinks of me, Christ in the mouth of every one who speaks to me, Christ in every eye that sees me, Christ in every ear that hears me.

I bind myself to-day to the strong virtue of an invocation of the Trinity. I believe a Threeness in Oneness in the Creator of the elements.

Salvation is the Lord's, salvation is the Lord's; salvation is Christ's. May thy protection, O Lord, be always with us".*

After invoking the intercession of the Heavenly Queen and the chief of the angelic host, St Michael, the Irish Church addressed its supplications to St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, † before all the other saints.

In acknowledging their sins and invoking the intercession of the saints, our fathers not only struck their breasts, but prayed with outstretched arms, ‡ with genuflections, with the hands uplifted or crossed in front of the breast or clapped one against the other.

* W. Stokes, *Goidilica*. Vid. App. O.

† *Book of Hymns*. Franciscan Convent, Dublin.

‡ *Leabhar Breac*, p. 234. col. 1. Vid. *Vision of Adamnan. Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI.

To say that the Ten Commandments were enjoined in the Irish Church is only a matter of course; but it may be observed that the division made of them by Protestants was not known to the Irish Church. It was such as now is observed by the Catholic Church. It was stated that the fulfilment of the Ten Commandments depended on the two precepts—love for God and love for the neighbour; that three commandments referred to God and seven to the neighbour; and then a ten-fold division is made. The first enjoined the worship of God, and turning away from idols and false gods. The second prohibited any disrespect to God's name. The third ordained the sanctification of the Sabbath or Sunday, and holidays of the Church in the same way as Sundays. The ninth and tenth prohibited respectively unlawful thoughts and desires in regard to the neighbour's goods and wife.

While we are informed as to the number and division of the Ten Commandments which people were obliged to believe and know, we are led to learn the strictness with which they had to be observed. The sanctions of rewards and punishments for the commandments are enforced by frequent references to holy writ. The several stages by which sin is begun and finally consummated are gone through; and as the first stage is a thought by which sin enters generally by the eyes and ears, a restraint on these is strongly inculcated.

The opinions of the Fathers of the Church, especially Sts. Ambrose and Augustine, are respectfully quoted in support of the remedies prescribed for the avoidance of an infringement of the commandments. In explain-

ing the various modes by which they are broken, the writer speaks, in reference to the second commandment, of kissing the Missal and swearing by any of the saints on the altar bench, and of the unlawfulness of swearing by man or the earth or any of God's creatures.

In dealing with the fourth commandment, he speaks of the obligation of remembering not only the carnal but the spiritual parents, and the great charity of having masses, prayers, and alms offered up for them after death, with a view to their release from Purgatory.*

The observance of chastity and the peculiar deformity of the opposite vice are dwelt on, and the necessity of guarding not merely by act but thought against all carnal sins. "God himself was the first to ordain marriage; he ordained it in paradise, and decreed it for our first parents in a state of innocence. For a variety of reasons conjugal fidelity was insisted on. Great as would be the theft of a horse or other goods, much greater would be the injustice of violating the marriage vow which was pledged for life".

After telling what would justify theft, or what would deprive an act of injustice in taking from another, the writer goes on to denounce every sort of unjust taking or keeping what belonged to another—usury, simony, disrespect in the House of God by which God was robbed, were strictly discountenanced.

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 233. There was a middle state of punishment which was to have an end, and be succeeded by everlasting joy.

ıṙ tṙa ṗılet ıṙ ín ṗein ṙın ..... ocuṙ beṙchuṙ apum
ṡo ṁuṙt beciḋ ın ṗṙecnaṙcuṙ ṡnuıṁ ḋe.—*Leabhar na Huidhre*, fol. 27.

The Sunday or holidays ordained by the Church were to be sanctified not merely by cessation from servile work, but by prayer, and sacrifice, and almsdeeds, and reading and writing.

All servile work was prohibited. "To churn, work at a mill or quern, to wash, to spin, to ride on horse or ass, to travel through the country, even to sweep the floor without necessity, to launch a canoe on the water—all these things were inhibited. Nothing but necessity, that, for instance, of helping to extinguish a burning house and saving a perishing crop, justified a disregard of the Sabbath. And with a view of impressing the solemnity of Sunday on the minds of the faithful, the writer makes copious references to scriptural incidents. Out of very many such I can only quote a few. "On Sunday were made light and the angels, heaven and earth; on it Adam was created, on it Noe was saved in the Ark in Armenia, on it the children of Israel passed with dry feet through the Red Sea. On Sunday God was conceived in the womb of the Virgin without prejudice to her virginity; on it the three wise kings (Druids) approached to adore our Saviour with gold, frankincense, and myrrh. On that day Christ was baptized in the Jordan, on to-day Christ multiplied five loaves and two fishes so as to satisfy 5,000 people and fill twelve baskets with the leavings. On to-day Christ offered himself for the first time in the temple, on the kalends of January. On to-day he changed water into wine. On to-day St. John wrote his Apocalypse. On Sunday the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles; and on it Christ rose from the dead".*

* *Leabhar Breac,* p.p. 202, 204, 245, and seq. As an incentive to expect and ask graces on Sunday, even the damned spirits are represented as getting relief for three hours on that day. Vid.

The holidays, as stated, were to be observed as the Sundays. Not only was servile work to be strictly avoided, but positive acts of religion were enjoined for the sanctification of the holiday. The holiday should be instituted by the Church of God, and as such was entitled to the same respect as the Sunday. Hence prayer and sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ were enjoined for the sanctification of the holiday, at which, as well as at the preachment of the Word of God, the faithful were bound to attend, and the remainder of the day was to be devoted to the works of mercy, corporal and spiritual. Not only were the faithful to be present at the sacrifice of the Mass, but to receive the Holy Communion.

In preparing the soul for it by being adorned* with all virtues, a strict and long abstinence from all sorts of food, as at present, was rigidly required.†

The charity of the faithful was not confined to

Vision of Adamnan, ar ni fagbat cumsanud co brath acht tri huari ceach domnaig.—Lebor n Huidhre, p 29.

There were four proverbially remarkable laws or *cains* in Ireland—(1) Cain Domnaig, brought, it is thought, into Ireland cir. 590, by Conal in Donegal; (2) Cain Patrick; (3) Cain Adamnan, who succeeded in having women kept from going to battle, as had been customary. The law was passed at Tara in the reign of Loingsech, between the years 694 and 701. There had been scarcely a legislative assembly in Tara since the year 558 previously.

Cethri cana en i Cainpatrice cen cleirig domarbad. Ocus Cain Adamnan cen mna do Marbad. Ocus cainsarn en chaillech ampa cen damu do Gaid. Agus cain domnaig cen taimthecht imd.—*Leabhar Breac*, Mar. note, p. 84.

* Ise in cedna errdach celebrad agus precept briari dé. Isí immorro interredach tanne Edpart chiurp Christ mic dé bii 7 afhola de chind infoful Chriostaide. Ise intres erredach biad agus etach, etc.—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 73, col. 2.

† Armbad aaithle ainé agus abstaine deachsad ind Eclais indiu airitim Cuirp Cr. agus a fola".—*Ibid.* p. 50, col. 2.

the living, they were called on to assist the souls departed.*

The mysteries of our holy religion, the death of a saint, the consecration of a bishop, the translation of his relics, the dedication of a church in honour of the saint were sufficient motives for the Church to ordain the observance of the holiday as a Sunday.† For the purpose of encouraging to a proper respect for it, a curious opinion was advanced in reference to the souls of the damned.

It is stated that even these, for a few hours on Sunday, are capable of receiving respite from eternal torments.‡

The canon of Sacred Scripture received in the ancient Irish Church was the same as what was defined by the Ecumenical Council of Trent. Not only were the same books received, even those pronounced apocryphal and rejeeted by Protestants, but even those portions, by them questioned, of books generally admitted. Thus the story of Susanna, the Canticle of Canticles, the Canticle of the three youths in the furnace, Macchabees, Barruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Esdras, Tobias, Judith, and Esther are quoted from the Old Testament with the same respect as the other unquestioned portions of Scripture. In the New Testament, St. James, St. Jude, St Peter, St. John with his epistle and apocalypse, the bloody sweat, the story of the woman taken in adultery—all

* Aiffrind agus almsan agus guide do denum agus do cendach doib dia tabert *a purgadoir* cum in flaithenmais.—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 243.

† See a curious account of the institution of the Feast of All Saints in reference to the games celebrated once on a time on that day, and the Sibyl's answer, in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 187, cols. 1, 2.

‡ Ar ni fagbat cumsanud co brath acht trihuairi,—*Vision of Adamnan* and *Leabhar Breac*, p. 255, col. 2.

were quoted in the Church as portions of Sacred Scripture.*

The version of Scripture brought by St. Patrick was the Itala version; because St. Jerome's had not been fully perfected and known before the departure of St. Patrick for Ireland A copy of the Ante-Hieronymian version in Irish is still preserved in a very frail condition, indeed, in Trinity College, Dublin. But in a short time the Vulgate, or St. Jerome's version, superseded the older version. Hence in copies of the Gospels attributed to St. Columbkille erasures appear, in order to replace the old readings by those of the *Amiatinus* version.

If there existed only the *Book of Armagh*, *Book of Lecain*, and the *Leabhar Breac*, they were sufficient to establish the Catholic Canon of Scripture in use at present in the Church.

Fortunately, however, we have in one book the canon of the Old and New Testament.

Forty-four Books are given in the Old Testament and twenty-seven in the New. The Psalms count for five, having been originally divided into five parts, and the works of Solomon count for three.†

* *Book of Armagh* gives Epistles of St. Paul, St. James, St. Peter, of St. John, of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse. *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain* (MS. H. 2, 19, col. 336, T.C.D.) gives the four Evangelists with twelve minor Prophets. The other portions of Scripture are given in the *Irish Corpus Missal*, (p. 14), edited by F. E. Warren.

Vid. also *Leabhar Breac*, p. 106, col. 1; p. 105, col. 1; p. 35, c. 2; p. 97, marginal note, in aimsir sin nabcudonnasor dalos nad diarerad arthenid doronrat he. uair narodadairret in deilb norodi do ronad la nabcudonnasor, &c.

† Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Ruth, Esther, Judith, Maccabees (2), Job, Tobias, Books of Kings (4), the Prophets (16), Psalms of David (5), Books of Solomon (3), Proverbs Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles Esdras —44 in all.

The Acts of the Apostles, 14 Epistles of St, Paul, two of Peter,

While on the subject of Holy Scriptures I may mention that the ancient Irish Church knew no other key to them than the interpretation of the Church.

There were no dreams of private judgment or interior illuminations. There was a conviction that no matter how divinely inspired were the holy books, they could be abused. After the precious body and blood of Christ they were looked on as affording the best nourishment, but at the same time that the best food unless received and digested in a proper manner was likely to do hurt rather than good. To use the expressive language of the Irish writers: "Food without being prepared by the teeth is not wholesome to the body; so too the Holy Scriptures without being explained by the doctors, who are compared to the teeth, are not salutary".*

three of John, those of James and Jude, the Apocalypse, and the four Gospels—in all 27.

Vid. *Irish Bobio Missal*, Mus. Ital., vol. 2, p. 397.

There were five divisions of the Psalms, each ending with the words, *fiat, fiat.* To this St. Jerome alludes when he says: "Scio quosdam putare esse divisum in v. libros ut ubicunque apud LXX. interpretes Scriptum est *genoito, genoito*, id est *fiat, fiat*, finis librorum sit. pro quo in Ebreo legitur. *Amen, Amen*".

"Prologus hirunimi ex libro Sancti Columbani de Bobio, *Ascoli*" —*Turin Glosses.*

* Uair nach tarba incend cenadenta hominigthaid nabiada donabalaib.

Isamail sin nach tarba in eclais cenahecnaide minigit glanruin na Scriptra noibe donahiresechu.—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 196, col. 2.

CHAPTER VII.

THE *Sarum* or English Liturgy and Sacramentary, which was intended to replace and, in a great measure, did replace the old Irish ones in the twelfth century, was based on the old Roman Ritual, but much leavened with provincial modifications. These modifications however, owing, perhaps, to the greater proximity of the English or Norman kingdom than Ireland to Rome, were less numerous and striking than those exhibited in the Irish Ritual, which too had been borrowed from the old Roman Ritual. This Ritual of Sarum, which differed in some points, unessential of course as being disciplinary, from the Roman Ritual recommended after the Council of Trent, prevailed very generally in Ireland from the coming of the English into Ireland till the seventeenth century.

In a Synod held at Drogheda in the year 1614, a decree enjoined "the observance of the Roman Ritual as much as possible, and that there should be no change from it unless what is taken from the Ritual of Sarum, which has been tolerated for a long time in this province and throughout the kingdom; particularly as the pressure of persecution does not admit of a change in things not essential".*

But before considering any further the Ritual of Sarum, I turn to the old Irish Ritual which it was to supersede.

The ceremonies and prayers for the blessing of

* *O'Renehan MSS.*, App. A., p. 429, edited by the learned Bishop of Kerry, the Right Rev. Dr. M'Carthy.

holy water were almost to a letter the same as used at the present day.*

The early Irish Church not only believed in the same number of sacraments, but also used the same matter and form with the essential ceremonies as at present in use. Being matters of discipline, there prevailed in the non-essential points and in the order of arrangement of the ceremonies the greatest liberty and considerable difference; just as up to the present century a variety of ritualistic observances was allowed, but in the main features, even the ceremonies of the sacraments in the past and present time are perfectly alike.

Baptism† very generally took place by immersion. In the collation of baptism there were used the interrogations as to the child's name, the insufflations, the signs of the cross on the breast, on the eyes, on the ears, on the nostrils, with the suitable prayers; the blessing of the salt and putting it into the child's mouth; the customary exorcisms of the

* Vid. *Corpus Irish Missal*, fol. 230.

† Baptism took place by immersion. Thus, a canon drawn up by Gillibert, in the 11th century, directed: "Exorcizatos credentes et sanctam Trinitatem Confitentes sub trina mersione sacro fonte intingere". *De Statu Eccles.*, MS. Coll. Cantab. So, too, in the 17th century, in a Ritual published for the Mission in Ireland by Pope Paul V., it is said, "Ubi autem est consuetudo baptizandi per immersionem sacerdos accipit infantem, et advertens ne lœdatur, caute immergit, et trina mersione baptizat, et semel tantum dicit:—'N. Ego te', &c.

"Ordo pro sacerdotibus in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia".—Ex Pontificale et Rit. Rom. jussu Pauli, P.P. Quinti editis., extractus.—T.C.D.

Though the form alluded to in the *Leabhar Breac* (p. 242) supposes, I judge, baptism by immersion from the words used there, yet it (tonn, "a wave") need not necessarily suppose immersion. Because the corresponding Latin word *unda*, is applied in the Missal to the *aspersion* of holy water. "Quos *unda* resperserit".

Evil Spirit; the clothing of the baptized with white garments; the blessing of the font* with the use of a short litany in which several Irish saints were invoked,—some of which water the people carried with them home,—and afterwards the holy oils were poured into it.†

The most novel features in the ceremonies of baptism were the use of a short Gospel from St. Marc, while the bystanders or sponsors held their hands on the body of the infant, and, in blessing the font, the pouring in the form of a cross burning wax into the water.‡

The ceremony of washing the feet of the baptized in imitation of what our Saviour did and recommended to his Apostles, which was in use in the Irish Church as in the Gallican and Spanish Churches, in the early ages,§ appears to have been

* "Amal forcantur cathcomnide ho sacardd hitosch acus inbaithsetar acus amal noinghter darum ho escop dan intindarscan ishain forcital innan doine acus ambaithsed hi tosuch acus rooinghtea iarum ho Christ. rofoirbthiged ho Christ acus forcuad ingnim tindarscan iohain".—*Hibernicæ Veteres Glossæ* (Turin, Tom. ii. on St. Mark, p. 11, col. 1. "As the catechumens are instructed first by the priest and baptized, and as they are after anointed by the bishop, so, too, John began his instructions and gave baptism to men, who afterwards were anointed by Christ, and thus the work which John began was perfected".

"Is he candadus innan degnimaeso ngite inhadchoimnidi retecht fobathis defoir ndither trisin mbrat find".—*Ibid,* p. 7, note 55. "The *white* garments signify the good deeds done".

"Hence catechumens, that is instructed, begin with the priest and receive the chrism from the bishop".—*Commentary of Columbanus,* Turin Glosses.

† *Irish Bobio Missal. Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2. Vid. *Irish Stowe Missal,* apud Lord Ashburnham.—I regret that while his lordship admits the frail and interesting character of the MS. he cannot agree with me as to the necessity of its publication.

‡ Vid. App. K.

§ Vid. Mabillon, *de Liturg-Gallic.* p. 250, &c.; also, *Supplement to the Stowe Missal.*

discontinued in the twelfth century. The three renunciations of Satan by the infant were, as at present, required; as was also a profession of faith "*in the resurrection of the dead into life everlasting*". This formed the last article of the Creed, *life everlasting* being only an explanation of it; and thus so far corresponding with the Creed in the time of St. Jerome, gives countenance to the belief of its being the Creed introduced by St. Patrick. If the bishop was present, he administered confirmation after baptism, and in the earlier ages communion was given to the infant before confirmation.*

An ancient writer in the *Leabhar Breac* speaks of baptism as necessary for the sanctification of man. "Baptism is necessary for cleansing and sanctifying man, who before baptism is a child of the old Adam and of the devil, but by baptism is made a new sinless creature, and child of God. And as after being born, one requires nourishment, so too after his regeneration he requires the *body and blood* of Christ for his spiritual sustenance.

"Confirmation or chrism is the perfection of baptism; not that they are not distinct and different. Confirmation could not be given in the absence of baptism; nor do the effects of baptism depend on confirmation, nor are they lost till death.

"Just as the natural birth takes place at once, so does the spiritual regeneration in like manner, but it finds, however, its perfection in Confirmation".†

The administration of the adorable Eucharist was accompanied with the same prayer substantially as at present—that the body and blood of Christ may be a source of protection and salvation to the soul (and

* For a curious mode of baptism in difficult cases, vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 11, col. 1.

† *Leabhar Breac*, p. 253.

body) of the recipient—some prayers or a psalm preceded it, and generally the Lord's Prayer. Several appropriate verses followed, accompanied with frequent use of *Alleluia*, *the Gloria*, etc., and the psalm *Laudate Dominum* very often concluded the rite. This, of course, has reference to the Eucharist for the sick.*

For the administration of the Sacrament of Penance the old forms prescribed a profession of faith in the Trinity and the Creed, as if they had been framed in the face of paganism. After a belief in the Trinity, the only point of the Creed in which belief was required was summed up in these words: "Do you believe that you are to rise with the very flesh you now have on the Day of Judgment?" Then one was examined on the several sins which he might have committed. Then having expressed sorrow for the sins confessed and all other sins by thought, word, or deed, the penitent was absolved.†

The old Irish writer goes on to establish the necessity and sweet effects of confession, and makes use of very apt illustrations.

"Penance frees from all the sins committed after baptism. Every one desirous of a cure for his soul and happiness with the Lord must make an humble and sorrowful confession; and the confession with the prayers of the Church are as baptisms to him.

"As sickness injures the body, so sin injures the soul: and as there is a cure for the disease of the body, so there is balm for that of the soul. And as the wounds of the body are shown to a physician, so too the sores of the soul must be *exposed*. As he who takes poison is saved by a vomit, so too the soul is healed by *confession* and

* *Corpus Irish Missal*, fol. 209. Vid. App. * Book of Dimma, of Roscrea. Vid. App.

† Vid. App.

declaration of his sins with sorrow, and by the prayers of the Church, and a determination henceforth to observe the laws of the Church of God. And as a son comes before the father by his directions and undresses himself to be flogged in order to succeed to his estate afterwards, so in like manner the happiness of God is succeeded by confession. Because Christ left to His Apostles and Church, to the end of the world, the power of loosing and binding".

"In great esteem, too, is held by the Church the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, as it is practised. One is anointed in sickness in hope of health, as was ordained. St. James Apostle enjoins to call in the priests for anointing any of the brethren who may be sick, and to pray to God for his restoration to bodily health if it be for his advantage, and to obtain the pardon of his sins, but on condition that he should confess them sorrowfully and properly".*

The Sacrament of Extreme Unction was preceded by several lengthy prayers. They had in view the cure as well of the body as of the soul. A gospel was read, very often that of St. John, and an expression of faith, especially in the resurrection of the body, was required. The anointing took place, and after the anointing of each sense a psalm was read. Then, having washed the hands, the priest repeated an appropriate concluding prayer.†

The administration of the Sacrament of Holy Orders was reserved to the bishop.‡

As the form of the Sacrament of Matrimony consists in the consent of the contracting parties legitimately expressed, we should be prepared for a variety

* *Leabhar Mor Duna Doighre*, p. 258, col. 1.

† Vid. App.

‡ *Leabhar Breac*, passim; presertim p. 12.

of forms in which such consent was manifested: and the Roman Ritual which so strictly enjoins conformity in all the ceremonies of the other sacraments admits any local approved ceremony accompanying the legitimately expressed consent of the contracting parties. We are prepared, accordingly, for great diversity in the matrimonial rite. The priest clad in alb and stole repeated some prayers and a psalm, begging a blessing on the marrying couple. A ring and a piece of silver were produced, and blessed by the priest, who gave his blessing to the betrothed. Lighted wax candles were placed in the hands of the parties, and then the Mass began.* At the offertory the married party made an offering of the lights as well as other oblations; afterwards they knelt behind the priest, and were covered with a pall.† Then several lengthy prayers were said by the priest. The priest gave the *pax* to the husband, and he gave it to the wife and to the others.

Then the Mass and marriage rite concluded with an appropriate *post communion* prayer.‡

The ceremonies used in the Pale, and gradually over a considerable part of Ireland after the English invasion, were different. In addition to the words and promises made by the bridegroom to the bride, she, in holding his hand, promised "to be meek and obedient, *in lecto et in mensa*, till death", etc.

After the blessing of the ring and money, the bride-

* On the indissolubility of marriage the old Irish writers state: "Conaɔeleochaiɔ nechtar ɔib pechele cobar."—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 243.

† *Corpus Irish Missal.* "Cum liberis suis". The *liberi* were placed under the pall. It would appear that the blessing of the priest on the union had been given before getting under the pall; though St. Ambrose makes the "benediction" and the "sacerdotal veil" the same.—*Ep.*, xxiv. ad Vercellenses.

‡ Vid. App.

groom put the ring on the four first fingers, leaving it on the wedding finger, as prescribed in the Dublin ritual lately used.

The priest asked, as he does at present, whether the bridal pair took each other respectively for man and wife under all conditions of time and circumstance till death. All this was repeated by each with the hands joined. Afterwards the ring and a piece of money were blessed by the priest, and the ring was put by the bridegroom on the wedding finger of the bride.* After that several psalms were recited by the officiating clergyman, with several versicles, and some seven long prayers, which appear to have disappeaed from the modern Salisbury Ritual. The sacramental rite having concluded, the Mass Pro Sponso et Sponsa began.†

CHAPTER VIII.

THERE had been a great sympathy with and tendency towards the religious life in the Irish Church. The tone and standard adopted in the centres of religious retreat were as high in general as in such houses throughout the Church, and, on the whole, the lives of their inmates were fully up to their professions.

A prayerful, retiring method of life characterized the Irish ecclesiastic; and in the exercises of external mortification he did not yield to, but rather surpassed most of those of any other national church.

* The priest enquired as to the amount of dowry, so as to be a witness on the event of a suit arising from non-payment.—Vid. App.

† Vid. a very curious prose or sequence to the Mass in Appendix.

The rigour of fasting increased or relaxed according to the seasons of the year.

Like the good hermits of the desert, who treated themselves to a flask of oil on festive days, the Irish ecclesiastic softened the austere rigour of his fast and abstinence during the joyful festivals of the year.

In general the use of flesh meat was not recommended, unless in case of sickness or danger to life. At Easter, and for some weeks subsequently on to Pentecost, eggs and lard might be used. Bread, fish, and honey formed the staple of their food, and the drink consisted of sour milk and beer.

Besides the common fasts of Lent and Advent, there were fasts on the eves of festivals; and these, with the Sundays, comprised nearly a fourth part of the year. There too was a monthly fast; and should a person not have been able to observe it, he had to fast for three days in each quarter of the year. The fast continued from vespers to vespers, after St. John's day; but from noon to noon for some time after Easter. However to those who fasted a collation of one-fourth of the meal of gruel was allowed. Sour milk or whey was generally taken on fast days. Though milk was very commonly given, yet on the eves of festivals it should be sour. A moderate quantity of honey, too, was allowed on festive days,* and some vegetable or milk, a slice of fish, a dry egg, or cheese, in small quantities, while the bread was always given in stinted measure.

It would appear that Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays were days of abstinence. Hence, a festival falling on Monday was deferred to Tuesday;

* *Leahhar Mor Duna Doighre*, p. 10, col. 2. Eight selans of honey were allowed on Sunday. Each selan contained four eggs-full.

one falling on Wednesday was deferred to Thursday, and one falling on Friday was adjourned till the following Tuesday.

While the religious rule enjoined severe fasts on each member of the community, others were allowed to practise with prudence and caution still severer mortifications. And while at certain periods of the year a sharp and strict fast was observed, at all times great moderation in eating and drinking was recommended. Hence, to quench thirst drink was taken not in a draught, but by sups. And when in the refectory the necessities of the body had to be attended to the mind was kept employed on some spiritual subject. Because one was generally employed in reading the life of a saint, a gospel, or the holy le while the others were at meals; and to ensure attention to what was read, one was questioned by-and-by on the subject matter, and if found inattentive received suitable penance.

Meditation accompanied the scanty and unsavoury meal, while prayer* and public confession of one's faults preceded and followed it. Whoever eat before the appointed time, or more than the allotted quantity, had to fast for two nights on bread and water. A little buttermilk, mixed with water, was allowed to slake the thirst, but not a drop of any drink was allowed after nocturns.

During the intervals of prayer labour was employed to fill up the day. Some work of profit to the community or others was enjoined by the rule, if only for the purpose of avoiding idleness. The body of the lay brother was exercised while the interests of learning were attended to by others: or, to use their own

* A very usual prayer before meals was the psalm, "Beati Immaculati", the *Magnificat*, the *Ego vero* (Ps. lxix. v. 6).—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 9, col. 2.

words, "*The work of the learned man was in his mouth while that of the illiterate was in his hands*".*

Learning was encouraged; and while every teacher who did his work honestly was duly considered, the scale of remuneration was regulated by the results that were exhibited.†

The probationary term for religious was seven years. Should the bishop have imposed hands on persons unfit for their high office, he forfeited the respect to which his exalted character entitled him.‡ It was inculcated as a sacred duty on an ecclesiastic to check evil, to stand between the oppressor and oppressed, and to reject the offerings of the wicked, however powerful. They were not to be kept, but given to the old, the poor, and to the blind.§

While the religious were very mindful of prayer and offering sacrifice for the dead, they laboured for the living manually and mentally; but they principally cultivated that labour which, they contended, "exceeded all labour—the labour of religion".‖

The offices in the Irish Church were more numerous than the more solemn Liturgies of the Mass.¶ These offices which, besides the Mass,

* Saethar burb na laim. Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, ut supra.

† A milk cow was given for teaching the Psalter with its hymns, canticles, and lessons: a calf-pig, three sacks of oats with a supply of food and clothing was given yearly to the teacher till the end of the religious course. Even the bishop before whom the examination went on was entitled to remuneration.

‡ There should be no specially respectful salutation (no rising) for him: besides, he was sentenced to penance for six years, and mulcted in 21 cows.

§ Rule of St. Mochuda.—*Leabhar Breac.*

‖ *Leabhar Breac*, pp. 9-12.

¶ Gillibert speaks of the "*diversi et schismatici ordines*" of saying the office. Ussher, *Op.* iv. 274. n.

The Life of St. Malachy speaks of the "ecclesiasticæ consuetudines ubique contrariæ rejiciuntur".

St. Bernard, *Vita*, Paris, 1719, p. 668.

regulated the quantity and kind of public worship to be paid by the Irish Ecclesiastic, made his life one of prayer. From early dawn till night it formed one of his chief duties; and, as we gather from the eight or nine rules laid down by the Fathers of the Monastic life in Ireland, and which were a model for the secular clergy, as well as from Antiphonaries, prayer preceded and followed the most indifferent actions of the day.

The staple prayers of the Church in its offices were the psalms. While some communities read the entire psaltery, others read only a part of it; and even in the same community the spiritual exercises varied with the changing seasons of the year. Tedious as was the repetition of the psaltery, we are not to suppose that this was all. The *Deus in adjutorium meum intende* with the *miserere* commonly preceded the Canonical hours, while the genuflexions and making of the cross on the person were to be counted by hundreds. The psalms were closed with sacred lessons.

In order to prevent sleep on the one hand and fatigue on the other, the psalms were sung standing and sitting alternately. Whoever acted with levity or inattention, or even coughed at the beginning of a psalm, received as penance six lashes. In some communities all did not attend at the public offices, but with a view to the more effectually keeping up a chorus of praise to the Creator, a certain number was told off for nocturns, while others relieved them at matins.* But in general all attended at the public offices. There were not only *Prime* or Matins, but *Seconds*.†

* *Antiphonary of Bangor*, Muratori, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 142.

† The hymn explains the hour indicated by *Seconds*. "Exorto solis lumine". The Collect is: "Esto nobis protector in ista die,

Columbanus, who studied in the old school of Bangor, and whose rule was generally followed in Ireland and elsewhere, tells us that the sacred offices divided the night into three parts—the beginning of the night, midnight, and break of day.

At each course there were twelve psalms read from the 8th of the Calends of November, and three psalms were weekly added to the number, as the nights lengthened in winter, till the 8th of the Calends of May. The antiphons, three psalms to each, increased in proportion, while from April till October there was a gradual corresponding decrease in the psalms and antiphons.

The whole psaltery was not said in twenty-four hours. Two days were given to do so; that is, 75 psalms with their corresponding antiphons each day.

However, on Saturday and Sundays, no matter what the length or shortness of the night, the psalms were multiplied or doubled.

Ordinarily the psalms were not twelve but twenty in number at Matins.*

The Saint informs us that there was a variety of practices.† One, for instance, consisted in dividing

Domine sancte Pater Omnipotens, æterne Deus, et miserator et misericors, et auxiliator et dux nobis et inluminator cordium nostorum, custodi Domine cogitationes, sermones, et opera ut possimus placere in conspectu tuo Domine, et perficere voluntatem et ambulare in via recta toto nostræ vitæ tempore". That the Greek was familiar to the Fathers of the Irish Church is made evident by a hymn in honour of St. Cronan. *Zoen* ut Carpat Cronanus". *Antiph. Bangor.* p. 59.

* Fleming, *col. Sacra*, apud Sirinum, p. 6.

† Hence the charge of schism made in the eleventh century by Gillibert, who set himself to harmonize the Irish with the Roman course. But not only the charge of schism but *heresy* was applied to any peculiar opinion. On that account a writer in the *Leabhar Breac.*, p. 46, col. 1, characterizes as heresy the diversity in the time of beginning Lent: "Do dampnad aṫar do dichor hepirri airr tribus imorro-cairc motaverunt xlmam de loco ac paschæ junxerunt.

the night into four parts, and saying twelve psalms with their accompanying prayers at each course. He deemed this rather short for winter, and too long for the short summer nights.

The service at the beginning of the night began with a hymn. After that followed the psalms, the number of which, as stated, varied with the changing seasons. Then came the responses and the lessons, with a prayer, and a special prayer for peace with the *Pater* and *Creed*.

The same course was followed at Nocturns, as well as at Matins or dawn of day. Here the *Gloria in excelsis* was sung. Besides the appropriate prayer for Matins came the customary eight prayers, (1) for the faithful, (2) for the abbot, (3) for the fraternity, (4) for peace and kings, (5) for blasphemers, (6) for wayfarers, (7) for almsgivers, (8) and for the infirm. Afterwards were read a collect and a prayer to the martyrs, the Canticle of Moyses, and the hymn of the three youths, "*Benedicite*", followed by suitable prayers, as well as a gospel with a prayer.

The hymns at Matins varied with the festival.*

The *Te Deum Laudamus* would appear to have been reserved for Sunday †

According to the old Irish MSS., there would appear to have been eight divisions of the office.‡

* *Antiph. of Bangor*, Muratori, p. 159.

† *Prayer at beginning of Night:*

"Deus qui inextricabiles tenebras inluminas noctium densitatem caliginis inlustras corda nostra in opere mandatorum tuorum te oramus Domine custodias, Qui regnas", etc. Another to the same effect followed.

Ad Nocturns.

"Per horam mædiæ noctis tunc gavisi sunt angeli de nativitate Domini nostri J. C. ita et nos lætari debemus in tua sancta pace omnipoteus Deus. Qui regnas", etc.

‡ *Vision of Adamnan.* Lebor n hurohpe agur. *Lebor Breac.*

There was not only Prime but *seconds*.* Tierce was at 9 o'clock, sext at 12 o'clock, none at 3 o'clock, vespers at evening, and complin closed the offices of the day.

The Salisbury office and that followed generally in the Church in the 12th century, were not different.

The office of *Matins* began with the *Pater Noster* and a hymn. Some fourteen psalms were assigned to the first Nocturn, three to the second, and three to the third Nocturn. The proper lessons followed each Nocturn.

At *Lauds* there were five psalms sung. The two first were the same as used at present. At the third

* The prayer at *matins* was:—"Tu et Domine, inluminator caliginum, conditor que elementorum, remissor criminum, misericordia tua Domine magna est super eos qui toto corde requirunt, Majestas tu. Domine, mane nos exaudiat, et deleat delicta nostra, quæ tibi non sunt abdita".

Ad Secundas.

"Exaudi nos Domine, supplices tuos qui in hac hora primi diei referimus tibi gratias Domino Deo nostro, qui nos redemisti tuo sancto sanguine, ac petitiones nostras vice primitiarum tibi oblatas pie clementer que suscipias. Qui regnas", etc.

Ad Tertiam.

"Tibi subnexis precibus Christo Domine supplicamur qui in hora tertia diei spiritum sanctum Apostolis orantibus emisisti ejusdem gratiæ participationem nobis poscentibus jubeas concedi Qui regnas", etc.

Ad Sextam.

"Omnipotens æterne Deus qui nobis magnalia fecisti sexta hora sanctam crucem ascendisti et tenebras mundi inluminasti sic et corda nostra inluminare digneris".

Ad Nonam.

"Nona agitur Diei hora. Ad te Domine directa supplicatione, qua cultoribus tuis divina monstrantur miracula, nostra quoque eorum imitatione corda inlumina".

Ad Vespertinum.

"Vespertina oratio nostra ascendat ad aures divinæ majestatis tuæ, et descendat benedictio tua Domine super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te. Qui regnas", etc. At vespers *Gloria in excelsis* was sung.

An antiphon preceded the psalms, and prayers followed.

psalm, instead of *Deus misereatur nostri* as at present, the psalm *Domine Dominus noster* formed the latter part of it. The fourth psalm was *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei;* and *Domini est terra* was the fifth. At prime, as at the beginning of all the hours, the opening stanzas of the hymn *Veni Creator* were recited, then followed the psalms with suitable prayers.

The number of psalms at the several hours was the same as at present in use.

Complin or the closing of the office finished with the *de Profundis*, *Pater Noster*, and a suitable prayer.*

In regard to *Complin*, however, there appears to have been a greater diversity exhibited by it than any of the other hours from the present form in use.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the order or nature of the offices, as judged by the Antiphonary of Armagh, was very much the same as at present. The psalms and prayers were then more numerous, and differed in this—that not only the closing hymn but other parts had what may be called *proper* or peculiar to the feast or season. Besides there was a very peculiar prose at complin. But still more remarkable are the rubrics which regulated the movements of the chantor or conductor.

He turned now to the choir, again to the altar. He said a part of the *Confiteor*, then a versicle, by and by another part of it, and then a versicle again. And what with the number of psalms† and their responses, and all being set to music rather than a chant, *Complin* was far more protracted than we can well imagine from our present order.

* *Usus Salisb.*, p. 536. T.C.D. † Vid. App. U.

The rubrics for the termination of the prayers to the Divine Person to whom they should be addressed were the same as our own at present.* The saints commemorated were entirely Roman or English. No doubt, the names of Sts. Senanus, Cronan, Lactin, and Flannan appear in the Calendar, but they were put in by a late hand, and the erasures are manifest.

At the end of the fifteenth century Irish entries, too, appear on the margin of the Breviary,† which show either that the Irish used the *Sarum Use*, or that the Anglo-Normans were freely mixing with the Irish population.

The lessons in the office were regulated by the several seasons, with a heading from a portion of the sacred volume from which it was taken ‡ The name even of St. Patrick does not appear to have got a place in the Calendar, but he is invoked, however, in one of the litanies with Ss. Columba, Columbanus, with St. Kilian and his companions. But while there has been a remarkable silence as to the Irish saints in the Salisbury Breviary or Missal, nothing could exceed the devotion to the Mother of God, as evidenced by the many beautiful and lengthy prayers in her honour.§

There was almost an identity between the blessings and absolutions used in the Roman and Sarum Breviaries before the lessons. The only difference

* MSS. B. 3, 19, T.C.D. "Per dominum dicas, si Patrem presbyter Oras: Si Christum memores, per eundem dicere debes; Si loqueris de Christo, qui vivis scire memento: Qui tecum sit, collecte finis in ipso".—*Preface to Rubrics.*

† Ir me deora na mbreo ban.

‡ Vid. Appendix.

§ Of the several Irish entries almost obliterated, the following to the Blessed Virgin appears between the feasts of St. Thomas and St. Andrew:—"Amuire maithir na milli, cean glain manaon fetfoli, cru domic O Da am cinnta, do dreit, gaonfetill feomra"

appears in the second benediction for the third Nocturn; and, in the office of the B. V. M., in the first benediction for the third Nocturn.*

In the last leaf of the Breviary referred† to we have a proof of the identity of the Irish and Catholic Canon of Scripture in the allusion to the expulsion of the seven evil spirits from Mary Magdalene; and the *very last words are* a beautiful prayer to the glorious Virgin Mary.‡

During Advent the lessons from Isaias were read; the Epistles of St. Paul were read after Christmas; lessons from the Pentateuch and from the Prophet Jeremias were read during Septuagesima season and Passion time, respectively; the Acts of the Apostles, as well as the Apocalypse, after Easter; the Books of Kings after Pentecost; the Books of Wisdom and Solomon during the first month of Autumn; Job, Tobias, Judith, and Esther during September; the Macchabees during October; Ezechiel, Daniel during November; and the Twelve minor Prophets closed the ecclesiastical year.

All this was regulated by Rubric; and this was done as well by a direct reference to the portion to

* Vid. App.

† MSS. marked B. 3, 10, T.C.D., fol. 1 (vellum and richly illuminated). "Ad memoriam rei futuram est quod dum ab incarnatione Domini MCCCCLXXXIX. in tempore contentionis ortæ erga dominationem Elyæ inter Capitaneos Tathei O'Kerwayl ac Willielmum ejusdem nationis iste liber scriptus fuit per Malachium O'Lachnayn Laonensis dyocesis clericum cujus animæ propitietur Deus, et qui legit pro suæ animæ salute dicat orationem Dominicam". It is strange that in it there is no office for St. Flannan or of St. Molua, though written by a Killaloe priest.

‡ Caritatem mentis et corporis tribuat nobis filius Virginis, ab hoste maligno defendat nos Dei Genitrix Virgo in omni tribulatione".

be read as by reference to the responsaries attached to the lessons.*

Towards the close of the fifteenth century there had been a pretty close approximation, if not identity between the Sarum and the old Irish offices. This was the more desirable as there had been as many different forms of going through them as there were religious houses.† So much so that St. Columbanus,

* "*Sarisb. Offic.*" Rubric. "*a Domine ne in ira et* consuetus modus indicandi Dominicam primam post octavam Epiphaniæ, in quo inchoantur Paulinæ Epistolæ et initium Responsorii primæ lectionis, "*Dom. ne in via*". "*Deus omnium*" significat Domi. primam post Trinitatis, verbis Responsorii existentibus *Deus omnium exauditor est,* quod est initium Libri regum quatuor, sive sec. Hebræos, Samuelis et Regum.

Disce per hoc scriptum quid sit, vel quando legendum.
Adventus proprie vult sermones Isaiæ.
Post natale sacrum recitat sacra lectio Paulum,
Quinque libros Moysi, tibi septua, Quadraque misit.
Vult sibi scripta legi Jeremiæ passio Christi.
Actus apostolicus sequitur post Pascha legendus.
Hinc Apocalypsum lege, canonicæ que vicissim.
Post Pentecosten Regum liber exit in hostem.
Inde per Augustum retinet sapientia scutum.
Per totum mensem sapiens Salomon tenet ensem
Cantat September Job, Tobiam, Judith, Esther,
Octobre mense Machabœa trophœa recense.
Isti Ezechiel, Daniel durabunt mense Novembris.
Postea tu repetes bis sex in fine Prophetas.
Post Personas (Trinity) tres librum regum dare debes
"Deus Omnipotens"
Post Samsonem sapientem da Salamonem. "In principio"
Post Augustinum doctorem Job lege justum "Si bona"
Thobiam dictum post Protheum atque Hyacintum "Peto Dne".
Subjungas Judith post Vigilias Mathei "Adonai".
Post Sanctum Cosmam dabis historiam Machabæorum
"Adeperiat," etc.
Post Judam Simonem subjungas Ezechielem "Vidi Dnm".
Post festum Lini semper adventus Domini "Aspiciens".

† The strong language used by Gillibert in reference to the diversity of offices by which the Irish Church was deluded (delusa

while speaking of the normal course of sacred offices, says that religious, in a great measure, were to be influenced by their health, love of study, duties of charity, personal devotion, in the length to which the offices might have been protracted.

If we take a Breviary published by a Celtic priest in the diocese of Killaloe, as a sample of the offices used by the Irish, we must conclude that they very much approximated to the Salisbury or present Roman Breviary. It is a manuscript copy in a very rich style of ornamentation.* On the fly-leaf it is stated that the book was written by Malachy O'Lachnayn, in Killaloe, at the time of the contention between the Captains Thady O'Carroll and William, both of Eli, in regard to its possession. As I said, the offices did not materially differ from the *Sarum* offices; but one characteristic difference was the frequent use in the former of the Gospel lessons, and the dramatic form of the acts of the martyrs.†

Having considered the nature and extent of the divine offices, it remains for me only to observe on the hours at which they were celebrated. As re-

est), as he said, might have been toned down if he remembered the remarks of Firmilian to St. Cyprian, and how diversity was viewed in the primitive church :—" Multi pro locorum et hominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc de Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pace atque unitate discessum est. Et hæc diversitas circa celebrandi non modo Paschæ dies, sed circa multa alia divinæ rei Sacramenta".—Socrates, *Lib.* 5. Ch. xxii.

* In this Killaloe Breviary even the Patron Saint of the diocese is not commemorated. Room had to be made for English saints.

On November 7, 1244, the Pope, at the English King's petition, ordered the nativity of St. Edward the Confessor to be celebrated.

Accordingly, the King requests the Bishop of Killaloe to have the feast solemnly celebrated in his diocese. Royal Letters, No. 785. Sweetman's *Calendar.*

† For a specimen of these Acts, see the dialogue between the martyrs and their persecutors in the *Leabhar Breac,* p. 182.

marked before, the hours were more numerous in the primitive Irish Church than in the twelfth century. Instead of three *hours* during the night, as in the days of St. Columbanus, there was in process of time only one *hour*—Nocturns; and so too did the hour of *seconds* disappear, unless we suppose it to be another name for *Lauds*

There is a curious tract in the famous *Leabhar Mor Duna Doighre*, which tells the precise hours at which the offices were celebrated. This is brought out only incidentally, the main object being to justify prayer at these hours specially by a reference to and warrant from Holy Writ. Not satisfied with having the matter and form of its prayers grounded on it, the ancient Irish should seek a sanction for the times of prayer in Scripture. If no other tract than this existed, it were sufficient to establish the peculiarly Scriptural character of the Irish Church. The tract opens by asking, why is it that at these rather than other times celebration is made? and thus proceeds:—*

"*At midnight* were created earth and the various heavenly host. At midnight the angel came to destroy every first born in Egypt. At midnight Peter thrice denied Christ. At midnight Paul was freed from prison. At midnight Christ was born and rose from the dead. At midnight the last judgment shall take place, and sentence shall be pronounced on each according to his deserts. At midnight the seed of Adam shall faint away at the severe judgment. At midnight Christ will come into His kingdom with the red cross before Him. At midnight shall come a shower extending to every living thing, and by it shall be consumed at once the entire earth.

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 247, col. 1. Vid. Appendix V.

At Prime the children of Jerusalem received the manna. At prime each offered his sacrifice according to law. At prime Christ was dragged amid shouts before Pontius Pilate. At prime the three Maries came to the burial. At prime Christ eat honey and fish with His disciples after the resurrection; and at prime our Saviour ascended to sit at the right hand of His Father.

At Tierce Christ was despised before Pontius Pilate. At tierce the people of God came through the waters of the Jordan. At tierce the three youths prayed—that is Ananias, Azarias, Misahel, with the prophet Daniel, before the Lord. At tierce the people of Juda vexed Christ. At tierce James was put to death. At tierce the Holy Ghost descended on St. John.* At tierce the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles. At tierce the walls of Jerusalem were razed.

At Midday Adam was created. At midday he died. At midday Adam was driven out of Paradise. At midday Cain killed Abel. At midday the three children were put in the fiery furnace by Nabuchadonozor. At midday Christ was crucified, the seed of Adam saved, and the prophecies fulfilled. At midday Noe entered the ark; and at midday he left it.

At None the children of Jerusalem came through the Red Sea. At none the walls of Jericho were thrown down. At none Helias was carried in a chariot to Paradise. At none was the crisis of Christ's battle. At none Christ sent forth a cry from the Cross. At none they pierced His body.† At none he breathed forth His soul. At none hell was

* *In Patmos* is added in the metr. version.
† The *Heart*, according to the metrical version.—hi cpi.

in anger. At none the sun was darkened, the rocks split, the earth burst open, and the graves were opened. At none was split the veil of the temple. At none the colour of springs became bloody. At none every division was upset, every thing was darkened, and heaven and earth were changed.

*At Vespers** was offered the sacrifice of a lamb according to law by the children of Jerusalem. The lamb afterwards was a figure of Christ crucified for our sake in the evening; and as the lamb offered had to be without blemish, so without spot was our Lamb—the Son of the King of Heaven and Earth; and His body and blood are after Him on every holy altar for the salvation of all the faithful. It was on the fourteenth day on which the people of Moses celebrated on a Saturday the Pasch; but since Christ rose from the dead on Sunday, to it the Pasch was transferred, and hence the feast of the Resurrection.

At Complin is celebrated His *short* life before His ascension, to make constant intercession with His Heavenly Father, and sending forth unceasing Alleluias".

* From the words used in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 247, one would be led to think that the vesper hour was not more accurately described than by *evening* or *sunset*. However, the word had a different meaning in some places, as we can see from an entry in the *Calendar of Papers, etc.*, given by Sweetman. "A *disseisin* took place at the hands of Geoffrey Geneville and others against Geoffrey son of Thomas Leon".

The defendant in reply to the plaint says: "As to Joan's reasons, it is contained in the record that the seisin which Thomas son of Thomas made to Geoffrey son of Thomas was made at the hour of Vespers, *which hour in these parts is the middle time between the ninth hour and evening*, so that that seisin was made by day and not by night. Nov. 3rd, 1288".

CHAPTER IX.

WHETHER the Apostles consecrated the body and blood of Christ without any other form of prayer than the mere words of consecration and the Lord's Prayer, as some assert, or used a more elaborate ceremonial with longer and various prayers, certain it is that the liturgy did not for a considerable time attain to anything like the completeness into which it has subsequently developed. It is generally asserted that the form of prayer and ceremony used at Mass, in the earlier ages of Christianity, was committed to memory by each celebrant with a view of hiding the mysteries from the knowledge of the infidel and the uninitiated: and only in the fourth century, when the work of conversion to the true faith had gone on through the Roman empire, was the liturgy committed to writing.

When Christianity became the religion of the state the liturgy received a development, and the sacred ceremonies were accompanied with a pomp and circumstance unknown in former ages. By and by they became still more elaborated by the saintly Popes Innocent I., Celestine I., and Leo the Great.

The Roman liturgy underwent some important changes at the hands of Pope Gelasius, who lived at the close of the sixth century, and who was the author of the Sacramentary which bears his name. In about a century afterwards the Great Gregory took in hand the liturgy. According to John the Deacon, who wrote his life, Saint Gregory "compressed into one volume the various Books of Masses of Pope Gelasius; and while he retrenched some matters he added others", and left us what goes by the name of the Gregorian Sacramentary.

In the course of the middle ages, especially in the earlier centuries, some unauthorised changes in particular churches took place in the liturgy, but the Roman liturgy remained, and is substantially now, as left us in the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory the Great.

Had copies of the several forms of liturgy in the Roman Church been handed down to us, it were easy to ascertain which of the existing missals, if any, was the one used by St. Patrick in Ireland. But unfortunately none of them, for reasons already given, had been committed to writting before the fourth age of the Christian era. The liturgy, as revised by Pope St. Innocent I., who succeeded in the year 417, does not exist. Some attribute several changes in it to Pope St. Celestine, who sanctioned the mission o St. Patrick to the Irish; but this form is not found among the many preserved in the *Roman Ordo.** Even Pope Leo the Great is accredited with several changes in the form of celebrating mass within the same generation that witnessed the mission of St. Patrick; nor can even this be found among the several existing forms of the Roman liturgy.

The earliest *Ordo* met with is that of Pope Gelasius,† who succeeded in the year 496. He made several changes, especially in the commemoration of the saints commemorated in the Canon of the Mass, and that Canon is substantially the same, excepting some few changes made by Pope Gregory the Great at the beginning of the next century, as we use in the present day.

* There are various rites. The first division is into the Latin and Greek:—The former into the Mozarabic, the Ambrosian, the Gallican, etc The latter is divided into Sclavonic, Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Chaldæan, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopian.

† Mabillon, *Museum Italicum. Com. in Ord. Rom.* vol. II. p. viii.

Hence, an Irish priest, at the close of the fifth century, using the Liturgy of Pope St. Innocent I., brought probably by St. Patrick from Italy or Gaul, and unacquainted with, or indifferent to the changes made by Popes Celestine I., Leo the Great, and Gelasius, might be looked on as not having received from Rome the variable discipline with the dogma that varies not.

While then the difficulty of ascertaining the precise form of liturgy used by St. Patrick was caused by the absence of the Roman original from which it had been copied, that difficulty had not been lessened by the variety of liturgies in use in the Irish Church. As a distinguished Irish saint or founder of a religious family, generation after generation, returned from Rome, Italy, Gaul, or Britain, he brought with him the form of liturgy found there, which was perpetuated and used by his followers, and thus while other Churches were content with their respective National Liturgy, whether Gallican, Ambrosian, or Mozarabic, the Irish Church had a variety of offices and liturgies.

It is worth while inquiring here what was the character as well of the Sarum or Salisbury liturgy, as of the Irish Masses which it was to supersede. This is the more necessary, as in point of fact they were not for a long time superseded by it. Nothwithstanding the assertion to the contrary by Dr. Lanigan,* the Irish offices were not universally set aside in the eleventh century, but kept their ground in various dioceses down to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

That the endeavours of Gillibert, apostolic legate in Ireland in the eleventh century, and of St. Mala-

* *Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. 4, p. 267.

chy, in bringing the Irish Liturgy and offices in harmony with the Roman, had not been without success, is evidenced by the close conformity of both, as well in the prayers of Mass as in their arrangement. There are extant six Irish Masses, and these were in use, some before and some after the change in the eleventh century.

Now as to the Sarum Use or Missal to which the Irish liturgy was to conform, it may be said to agree almost word for word, on to the *Agnus Dei*, with the present Roman missal. After and not before the *Agnus Dei* the smaller part of the sacred host is let into the chalice. After that three pre-communion prayers as at present were said, but two of them differ in some respects from the present first and third prayer; and after the first the *pax* was given, as at present at High Mass.

*Before the reception of the body and blood of Christ there are some peculiar prayers said. After some appropriate prayers, bearing on the reception of the adorable sacrament, the *post communion* was said as usual, and the Mass ended with the prayer *Placeat tibi, etc.*†

With the exception of these few changes, involving of course no difference in doctrine, the matter almost in the very words and its arrangement in the ordinary of the Mass are the same in the Roman and Sarum missal.

In an Irish missal written in the fourteenth century,‡ the only noticeable difference between it and

* "*Anima Christi Sanctifica me*". It is a mistake to suppose that this prayer was composed, as is commonly supposed, in the 16th century. It is found in an old Sarum missal, which states that Pope John XXII. indulgenced it with III M days. *Salisbury Office of B. V. M.*, fol. 51, T.C.D.

† See Appendix W.

‡ The *Rosslyn* missal in the Advocates' Office, Edinburgh.

the present Roman missal is that the first of the present three prayers said before communion is omitted, and that the order of the two last prayers is inverted. The *Perceptio Corporis* is given first, and the other as the second prayer.

Another Irish missal*, written about the middle of the twelfth century, and now existing in Oxford College, England, presents but very few points of difference to the Roman or Sarum Missal. In fact, though written before the Anglo-Norman invasion, it shows as great a likeness as the fourteenth century copy to the Roman liturgy. In the canon of the Mass there is no commemoration of Saints Felicitas or Perpetua.

As in the case of the fourteenth century missal, the putting of the small part of the sacred host into the chalice succeeded the *Agnus Dei;* and there is only one prayer *Domine . . . qui ex voluntate patris*, given before communion

In all other respects the Mass is substantially the same as the Roman.

There is extant a third Irish missal, written in the eleventh century, called the Drummond one,† and even this differs but very little from the Roman or Sarum missal. In the canon of the Mass, after commemmoration of Saints Cosmas and Damian, mention is made of Saints Martin, Gregory, Augustin, Jerome, Benedict, Patrick, and "of those martyrs, confessors, and virgins, whose triumph is celebrated to-day in thy sight".

After the *Agnus Dei* the small part of the sacred

* The *Corpus Christi* Missal, Oxford. See Appendix X.

† The *Drummond Castle* missal, the property of Lady Willoughby d'Eresby. It is remarkable that none of the Irish missals known to exist is to be found in Ireland. The Bobbio missal, when last transcribed by Mabillon, was in the library of Milan.

host in this, as in the twelfth and fourteenth century missals, is put into the chalice; and not only so, but before putting it in a short prayer is said; and after being put in there is said only one of the three prayers in the Roman missal—*Perceptio, etc.**

There is an old treatise on the Mass in the *Leabhar Breac*, which incidentally gives some glimpses of a liturgy once in use in Ireland, nay, in the opinion of very respectable authorities,† of the very Mass used by St. Patrick in Ireland. Its professed object is to give the spiritual or figurative signification, which I omit, expressed by the ceremonies and the appliances of the Mass. And thus commenting on the Church, the altar, and the chalice as expressive symbols, the writer, says: "When the water is being put into the chalice in the beginning by the server, it is what is right, and says *I beseech thee, Father*, a drop then. I *deprecate thee*, O Son, a drop then. *I entreat thee*, Holy Ghost, then a third drop:‡ this is the figure of the congregation having attained to the knowledge of the new law. . . . .

"This is what is said at putting wine into the Chalice at Mass—*the Father will send*, then a drop, *may the Son forgive*, then a drop, and the third drop

* See Appendix Y.

† Rev. Dr. M. Kelly, Maynooth, and O'Curry. Vid. *MS. Materials*, etc., p. 377, and Index, p. 703.

‡ The Council of Trullo, can. 32, ordered the mixing of water with wine agreeably to the practice of St. James Apostle, and St. Basil of Cesarea, "cujus gloria omnem terrarum orbem pervasit", Ben. XIV. *de Sacrif. Mis.* p. 32.

It was only in the third century the Council of Carthage sanctioned an allusion to the Trinity in the prayer *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* at the Secreta. If to avoid the temptation to polytheism prayers had been addressed to God the Father during the first four centuries, we may infer that the above addresses to the Son and Holy Ghost must be referred to a subsequent period.

is poured when he says *may the Holy Ghost have mercy.*

"Then are sung at the Mass the *Introit*, prayers, and additions, till he comes to the lessons of the Apostles and the psalm of the Gradual. . . . And the two psalms and the two uncoverings of the chalice are a figure of the written law.* The two and a half uncoverings of the chalice and the oblation† and the singing of the gospel" and alleluia is a figure of the prophecies.

"At the elevation of the paten, after having entirely stripped them, the following verse is sung, "Sacrifice to God and the sacrifice of praise" . . . . when the priests say *Jesus standing in the midst of his disciples, took bread, etc.*, they bow thrice in repentance for the sins which they may have committed, sacrifice

* "This was a figure of the natural law," Rectha aicnid, which O'Curry translates by "the dispensation of the Patriarchs", which is not a literal nor perhaps the best translation.

I should prefer if O'Curry gave a literal translation of *rectha aicnid* and rendered it *the law of natural reason or nature*, rather than make it, as he does, the *dispensation of the Patriarchs*, and thus he would contrast it with the prophetic teachings by which he translates *rectha litri*. For in truth the opposition is not so much between the written and unwritten (natural divine law) as between the "*law* and the *prophets*".

This is more clearly brought out in another passage in which the unwritten and written and Christian laws are contrasted.

Teora aimser and id est aimser rechta aicnid iarabatar uasalathraig, *aimser rechta litre arabatar faide, aimser rechta in spirita noem itanic fen.* p. 168, Col 2.—*Leabhar Breac.*

However, by the *rectha litra* was meant the law given to Moses. Vid. *Vision of Adamnan in Leabhar Breac.*

† The uncovering partially of the oblation (host and chalice) was effected easily by withdrawing the corporal, which formerly served for our present pall. The whole altar was covered with a larger corporal, so large that two deacons were required to spread it. The Greeks had a corporal to cover the chalice, another to cover the paten, and a third, which they called the *air*, to cover both. Bona, *de reb. Lit.* lib. i. ch. 25, n. ii.

to God, and say the entire psalm* *Miserere mei Deus*. After that a sound is not heard from among the congregation. . . . . For it is then fit that the priest's mind should not be distracted from God during a word† of the dangerous prayer.‡

* *Entire Psalm.* This is another proof that the Mass is not older than the thirteenth century, as the Bible was not divided into chapters before that time. Instead of speaking of the *entire psalm*, the writer, before the division into chapters, directed It to be read to a certain word or sentence, *usque ad, etc.*

† O'Curry makes ōī an Irish word. See the *I. E. Record* for the translation—not the blundering version in January, 1866, but an almost perfect one in a subsequent issue in July in the same year. ꝺuıꝼ ıꝛeꝺ ıꝛ ꝺechꝺa cona roscara a menma fri dia cid ıoı (omni) vocabulo icon ernaithisea. The *Record* following O'Curry, thus translates it: "Because it is then meet that his mind should not be diverted from God even in one word". I should prefer rendering it, "because it is meet then that his mind during *every* word of the dangerous prayer should be undiverted from (should be fixed on) God". (Not unlike the idiom in St. Luke, i. 37, "Quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum". An objection lies against the expansion of the contraction oı into oın (any) as made by O'Curry. It is that the Irish word for *any* is either ꝺın, ꝺon, en, eın, but seldom, if ever, oın: therefore I would make it a Latin word *omni*, qualifying the next word, Latin also, rather than an Irish word: and to see that *omni* was contracted into oı, we have only to turn to page 241 of the same *Leabhar Breac*. There, in a stanza of the *Lorica* of Gildas, we read "atque oe malum a me pereat", where oe stands for omne. And to show that such is the proper expansion of the contraction, beyond a shadow of doubt, we have only to look to the Irish gloss: *condechat uain for culu ulcu bite.* As oe then must have meant *omne*, we are justified in inferring that oı means *omni.*

oı (omni) natione, p. 52, col. 2.

oı (omni) morte, p. 237.

Nothing is more common than ıoı, ıóıꝺ, ıoíbuꝛ, for in omni, in omnia, in omnibus. See *Leabhar Breac*, passim.

‡ The Penitential of Columbanus (xlvii.) has "si quis tutoaverit sacerdos super oratione Dominica die uno in pane et aqua". And the Penitential of Cummian (cap. xiii.) has "si quis sacerdos titubaverit super Orationem Dominicam quæ dicatur *periculosa*".

The three steps* which the priest takes backward and forward represent, the former the three steps by which man falls by thoughts, word, and deed, the latter those by which he returns to God. The handling of the chalice and paten, and oblation with the Host to break it, is a figure of the buffeting of Christ; this is its mystical meaning.†

* The three steps spoken of are the strangest feature in this Mass. But stranger and more grotesque exhibitions took place in the thirteenth century, as evidenced by the *Feast of the Ass* and the *Feast of Fools*. I have no hesitation in saying that Rev. Dr. M. Kelly, Maynooth, was mistaken in attributing the above Mass to St. Patrick. It is not older probably than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Such ceremonies were unknown to the early Irish Church. The ceremonies of Mass at present have not substantially changed since the days of St. Gregory the Great, nor a long time previously. As for the canon of the Mass, it has undergone no change unless a transient one under Pope John XXII. to avert the evils of the day. The change was shortly discontinued. After a psalm, *Gloria Patri, etc.* and *Kyrie eleison* said after the *Pater Noster*, he decreed all to say, "Domine, salvos reges: et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te: salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati tuæ et rege eos et extolle eos usque in æternum. Fiat pax in virtute. Et abundantia in turribus tuis. Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat: Dominus vobiscum: et cum spiritu tuo". The collects were "Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus, preces placatus admitte," etc. "Hostium nostrorum quæsumus Domine elide superbiam eorum contumaciam dexteræ tuæ virtute prosterne. Per Dominum, etc. Benedicat celebrans consequenter". "Nos autem Christi fideles ad exequendum supradicta promptius donis volentes spiritualibus animare omnibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis quam his celebrantibus quam alias assistentibus observantibus superadicta quam alias preces tunc devotas Deo fundentibus pro promissis diebus et Missis singulis quibus hoc fecerint viginti dies de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus, auctoritate confisi de injungendis pœnitentiis sibi relaxamus. Nulli ergo, etc. Datum XII. Kal. Julii Pontificatus nostri an. XII. *Vid. Corpus Juris Canonici.* Extravag. com. part ii., Lib. iii. Tit. XI.

‡ A Thaitmeach fianfaidhe. "Its mystical meaning". I have no hesitation in saying that O'Curry, as represented in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, is mistaken in making *siansaide* mean *unmystical* or not mystical. *Taithmeach sianside* DOES signify a

The contact by which the two parts are brought together after being broken represents the perfectness of the body of Christ after the resurrection.* The cutting by which both parts are broken afterwards is a figure of the blood drawn from the body of Christ. The part brought under that in the left hand of the priest is a figure of the deadly wound from the hand

mystical meaning, and not, as translated by the above writer, a *comprehensible* or *human meaning*. There is as little question of the comprehensible or incomprehensible as of the human or divine. *Sians* means the spirit or inner meaning, as opposed to the letter or what strikes the senses (*Zeuss*, i. 32) and *sianside* accordingly means spiritual.

Thus, in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 52, the writer, speaking of the body and blood left in the Sacrument of the Eucharist, has "ise seo etergna *siansaide na liactainsa*": and to put the matter beyond doubt the gloss adds "spiritualis intelligentia hujus lectionis". Again (in p. 40, col. 2, ibid., 16th line from bottom) *Mair is gnath ruin agus sians isin scriptuir* makes *ruin* (mystery) and *sians* synonymous. Once again we have *tegdais na lectain issed do fornesin iarsians in ecclais*". *Leabhar Breac*, p. 42, col. i. Vid. et p. 43, col 1, lin. 3, p. 196, cols. 1, 2, p. 103. Again, *bairgena iarsians agus ruin.* i. na 5 oessa in domain, 149, col. i. There were three sorts of meaning—the historical (*etergna staraide*), the moral, *etergna mbesta*, the mystic, *siansaide.* Ise sin etergna *siansaide* na liacchtanso i. runda agus *infhoiligi*, opposed to the staraide i. *cofollus.* Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 168, col. 2. Least of all could *siansaide* in the text mean glorious, as said in the article referred to. Because we are dealing with the spiritual or mystic meanings of the ceremonies of Mass, as the title informs us (de spiritualibus sensibus oblationis sacrificii ordinis), we must then look out for the mystic meaning and for words to express it. *Siansaide*, as I have proved, is always employed to express that meaning, and must be then in the text not a *subject* but an *expression* for a mystic meaning—*a thaithmeach sainsaide* then could *not* be translated "*his glorious death*", but "*its mystic meaning*".

* The Greek Church breaks the host into four parts, one for the priest, the second for the people, the third reserved for the sick, and the fourth was put into the chalice. It was divided into nine parts, according to the Mozarabic rite. Even according to the old Roman rite mentioned by Mabillon, a third part being very large used be given to the people; and traces of the custom remain in the celebration by the Supreme Pontiff, and in the consecration of a bishop. Bona, *de reb. Liturg.* lib. i. ch. 11 and 15, n. 4.

of Longinus. The hold which the priest has of the chalice and paten represents the union of those in heaven and earth".*

These few ceremonies, alluded to in the above tract on the figurative explanation of the Mass,† prove that it cannot be earlier than the seventh century. This is made certain by the mention of the *Introit* and of the Gradual, which were introduced by St. Gregory the Great.‡ Besides, the Epistles and Gospels appear to have the same place in the tract as with ourselves now; whereas in the time of St. Patrick the Mass was begun by the prophecies and gospels. Then as to the mixing of wine and water in the beginning of Mass, it was done in the thirteenth century in various churches, and is done at present by the Carthusians and Greeks and others, and was quite common in the thirteenth century.

Not to speak of other authorities, we have only to refer to the *Book of Lismore* for proof that the psalm at the Introit was introduced long after the time of St. Patrick. It says, "There were many ways of beginning Mass until the time of Carolus the Great and Gregory, because the Mass used to be begun on Saturday . . . . that is the clergy read an epistle at first. This is what used to be done till the coming

* Formerly benediction used be given by the priest to the people at Mass after the Lord's Prayer, which was forbidden by the 4th Council of Toledo.

"Nonnulli sacerdotes post dictam orationem Dominicam statim communicant et postea benedictionem populo dant, cui deinceps interdicimus; sed post conjunctionem panis et calicis benedictio in populo sequatur".

† Vid. Appendix Z.

‡ The people originally, at the beginning of Mass, sung a psalm till the priest gave notice to have them cease; afterwards a verse of the psalm merely was said by the priest himself or sung by the choir, as his entrance or *Introit* into the sanctuary was commenced. Menard, *In Sacrament. Gregor.* p 3.

of Carolus and Gregory. It was in the time of Carolus that Celestine put a psalm from the psalter at the beginning of the Mass, and Gregory the Great put that psalm to music. This is not what used be done until Carolus the Great came: they used go round the altar, and this they called the *cora* or choir. . . . . At this time came Jerome, who spent fifty-five years in Bethlehem translating the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek into Latin, and prefixing an argument of his own to each book; and it was he that divided the psalms of the psaltery and vespers for each day and night of the year.

It was Gelasius and Gregory, Popes, who put the *tracts* to music, and added the Alleluia and Gradual and additions. It was Ambrose, the Third Pope, who confirmed these things, and it was Hilary that put the *Gloria in excelsis* into the Mass, having been first sung by the angels to the shepherds, *i.e*, "High glory to God, and peace to the tribes on earth", and it was the abbot of St. Gall who made the seceis".*

Besides the missals already mentioned, there is

* Notker Balbulus, supposed to be Irish, was the first composer of *Proses* for Mass. Eckhard, *de cas. monast. S. Galli.* and *Durandus.* They are borne out as to the originator of the Proses by the *Book of Lismore*, fol. 117, R I.A. I have seen only the transcripts by O'Curry and Longan. O'Curry's was made, if I mistake not, in the year 1839. There is some slight difference between the two transcripts. Mr. O'Langan has Glorια agus do dia ruth dona cineadaib in talman ar mbeith (*a*) mac de abhforbh (*b*) failti in doracha tair. Et ab. rancti Galli doringne nafeceir (*c*) agus alluia na nidaigh ar rirtudiugad a fuilit.

(*a*) O'Curry, in his transcript, fol. 118, gives mbferth.

(*b*) O'Curry gives abhforb.

(*c*) O'Curry's copies gives feceir, which does not seem so correct as what is in the text: for it is a loan word from the Latin, "Sequesis or Sequentia"—Scentia—Secens—Seceis: and it is a general rule in adopting a loan word into the Irish to throw off a syllable or two.

another very venerable one, dating as far back as the seventh century. It is called the *Stowe* missal; and was written for the convent of Lorrha in the diocese of Killaloe.* After the Mass it contains a lengthy form of baptism, the same in all essential parts with the old Roman or later Irish forms in the eleventh century.

But the Mass, with which just now we are concerned, begins with the Antiphon "*Peccavimus*", then followed the litanies. After comes the *Gloria*,† then follow several collects. Then an epistle or lesson

* It is in possession of Lord Ashburnham. It is supposed to have been written during the lifetime of Ruadhan, or immediately after his death.

Vid. Transactions of R I.A., vol. xxiii. "on an ancient Irish missal". *Script. Rer. Hiber.* et *Appendix to Stowe Catalogue. Irish Corpus Missal,* edited by E. F. Warren.

† There is a statement in the *Leabhar Breac* to the effect that it was St. Ambrose composed the *Gloria in excelsis,* and that it consists of seven chapters, seven lines in each chapter, and seven syllables in each line. From curiosity I counted the syllables, and found that all did not agree with our present *Gloria*. By and by I discovered another version of the *Gloria* in the same *Leabhar Breac;* and though in this instance it contained a few syllables more than our present form, still it did not square with the multiples of seven. I was disposed to think the *Leabhar Breac* was egregiously mistaken till I bethought me of the *Gloria in excelsis* in the Book of Irish Hymns. It is as follows: "Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis: laudamus te, benedicimus te, magnificamus te, gratias agimus tibi propter misericordiam tuam, Domine rex celestis, Deus Pater Omnipotens, Domine fili unigenite, Jesu Christe. Sancte Spiritus Dei, et omnes dicimus, Amen; Domine fili Dei patris, Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis, suscipe deprecationem nostram: qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis Domine, quoniam tu solus sanctus; tu solus Dominus tu solus gloriosus, cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris: Amen". P. 178, Fasciculus ii. The *Leabhar Breac* says it should be sung at night—Vid. p. 97.

The words of the *Gloria* in the *Leabhar Breac*, in addition to our present from, would yield only 211 syllables (Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 136, col. 2.) Vid. App. AA.

followed by a few versicles and a prayer, and then the gospel succeeds; but immediately before the gospel, however, the chalice is partially uncovered and a verse of the psalms with a prayer is said: and immediately after the gospel a prayer is said, and then the chalice is *wholly* unveiled. The creed comes on after this. It was neither the Nicene nor Constantinopolitan creed. The preface then comes on, and there was only one, an allusion being made to the festival celebrated. Then follows Pope Gelasius' canon. At the close of the canon there is a peculiar commemoration for the dead, followed by another litany. Then follows the *Agnus Dei* with a short prayer of St. Ambrose, followed by another commemoration of the principal saints of the Old Testament, and of the apostles, martyrs, and saints down to St. Patrick, and of forty-six other saints, the last of whom is St. Kevin, who died in the seventh century.

After this ordinary Mass there are Masses for the apostles, martyrs, saints, virgins, for the living and for the dead.*

I observed that there was only one Preface for the several Masses, and in recurring to it I wish to remark that before the words of the *Preface*, "Per quem majestatem", etc., there is an Irish rubric and another of a like nature after the *Sanctus*. The first rubric when translated is:—Here the *Dignum* drops the increase if *per quem* follows in the text". The other rubric means "Here the *Dignum* drops the increase if the *Sanctus* follows in the text".† By looking into

* There is a prayer in the canon for the conversion from idolatry of the founder of the convent. The Church of Lothra may have been given to St. Ruadhan by a pagan, as had been the site of a Church to St. Patrick by the pagan Laogaire. Colgan, *Vita Trip.*

† Dr. O'Conor, the learned librarian of Stowe, translated the

a missal it can be seen that after the words in the Preface, "vere dignum et justum, etc, per Christum Dominum nostrum", there is inserted an allusion to the special festival celebrated, more or less lengthy according to the feast, and which became a sort of *proper* Preface. The instruction then directed that this should cease when the rubric or title gave the *per quem majestatem.*

Though *per quem majestatem* was the usual mode of concluding the Preface, yet sometimes it concluded with "*et ideo cum angelis, archangelis*", *etc.*, or with "*quem laudant angeli*", *etc.*, or with the words "quem merito venerantur Sedes mirantur throni".† All these several endings then were so many increases or additions to the ordinary ending *per quem majestatem*, and were to be dropped when the *Sanctus* followed, or the Rubric indicated the place for the Sanctus.

Irish Rubrics, ɪɾunɒtoɔetoɪɡnumɪntoɾmaɡɪnomaɪoɾpeɾɸquembeɾ ɪnaɒɪuɒɪotɔhall.

ɪɾunɒtoɔetoɪɡnuṁɪntoɾmaɡɪnomaɪoɾanɔtuɾbeɾɪnaɒɪuɒɪoɪth all.

Here the dignum is chaunted, if *per quem* be in the following (words).

Here the dignum is chaunted, if the Sanctus be in the following (words).

Dr. Todd Transac. R.I.A., vol. xxxiii. p. 31) pronounces the above translation neither "tenable nor intelligible". The same character, in my opinion, applies to the following, his own translation:—"Here the dignum takes the increase, if *per quem* follows in the text". "Here the *dignum* takes the increase if the *Sanctus* follows in the text". ɔotɔeɔ means a change: hence, comɔoɔ̆ (a title given to a piece in *Leabhar na hUidhre*) means a conversion. Dr. Todd probably mistook this word for ɔoɡaɪɔ (to take). *Taking the increase* is as far from being intelligible as tenable. Because there neither is nor was an increase before the *Sanctus.* The word before the *Sanctus* is *dicentes*; and no Rubric ever directed an increase or a word at all between it and the *Sanctus.*

† "Quod merito tibi, Domine, conlaudant opera illa, viginti quatuor seniores, et quatuor animalia senas alas habentes, dicentes, *Sanctus*"—*Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 337.

In the Irish *Corpus Christi* missal it is only after the Sanctus, etc., at the "*Hosanna in excelsis*", that the Rubric directs that sometimes the Preface ends with "*Et ideo cum angelis*".

The festivals which required a special commemoration or a substitute for a short Preface were Christmas day, Circumcision,* Stellæ or Epiphany, the beginning of Lent, Easter, Low Sunday, and Pentecost.

The matter of the Preface in the Stowe Mass, as well as what follows the Consecration present some very curious additions to the Canon as at present in use. The epithets applied to the Deity at the opening of the Preface, as well as the several litanies of saints invoked during the Canon contrast very much with our present abbreviated form. After the Consecration there are some words which appear to have been copied into an Irish Rhenish Mass. They are: "with all holy and venerable priests over the entire world, offering *a spiritual Sacrifice* to God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, our *senior or venerable priest also offers it*", *etc.*†

* Dr. Reeves (on the Culdees) is purely fanciful in conjecturing that the word *stella* came from the breaking or dividing (רבוּלל) bread on the feast of the Circumcision, because it did not correspond with the feast of the Circumcision, and because the Epiphany was stella or "*of the star*"—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 198, col. 1, *Sollamainseo na redlaine.* Ciplad din forsambe notlaic bec l. notlaic *stellæ.* p. 205, col. 2, line 10 from the bottom. We know the *notlaic bec* was the twelfth day after Christmas.

† Dr. Todd, in Transactions of R.I,A., vol. 23. takes very sly, and the only efficacious means, as addressing a non-polemical body, of drawing attention to the phrase *sacrificium spiritale*, by saying that Dr. O'Connor, librarian of Stowe, omits all allusion to the phrase in his remarks on the Stowe missal. Now Dr. O'Connor does no such thing, but gives the very phrase. Did Dr. Todd insinuate that it were desirable for a Catholic not to give the phrase, which he actually did give? I give it and use it as meaning a mystic as opposed to a bloody sacrifice. So was it used by the

The next Irish Mass to be noticed is one which in the sixteenth century caused a good deal of discussion.*

In the year 1557 the celebrated chief of the Magdeburg Centuriators, Flaccus Illyricus, discovered a very old form of the Mass in the Library of the Palatine of the Rhine.

The opinion formed by the learned discoverer on its date was that even then it had been a thousand years old. It was printed at Strasburg.†

This Mass was much prized and paraded by the Lutherans, thinking that it was different or contradictory to the Roman Mass. But on closer examination it was found to be only a Roman Mass, exhibiting a belief in the intercession of saints and prayers for the souls in purgatory. The most remarkable feature of the Mass is the undue multiplication of prayers.

orthodox writer of the *Corpus Irish Missal* in the twelfth century. Post communion—"Omnipotentem Deum universitatis auctorem suppliciter exoramus ut qui *spirituale sacrificium* in honorem Sti. Patricii", etc , p. 150. In the same sense St. Augustin uses the word mystical. After speaking of the real body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, he says:—"panem cælestem *spiritaliter* manducate". Hom. *Tract.* 26, in Johannem.

So, too, in the Irish language *spirituale* is rendered by ꝑuꝺoᴀ "mysterious", vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 196, cols. 1, 2, p. 168, col. 2.

St. Gall, learning the death of St. Columbanus, said:—Instrue sacræ oblationis ministerium pro cujus itaque requie *sacrificium laudis* debeo immolare"—Fleming, *Coll. Sacra*, p. 242.

In fine, the *secret* of the Mass, in honour of St. Calixtus, on the 14th October, in the Roman missal, has "*mystica* nobis, Domine, prosit oblatio". Vid. App. BB.

* It is noticed by Bened. XIV., *de Sacrif. Missæ*, lib. i., c. 12, n. 5.

† "Missa Latina quæ olim ante Romanum circa 700 annum in usu fuit, bona fide ex vetusto authentico que codice descripta".

Cardinal Bona remarks on this title: "Titulus mentitur quia est Missa Romana variis orationibus interpolata."—*De re Liturgica*, App. vol. iii. p. 11.

To this we may add the peculiarity of the prayers, many of which would appear more in place as a preparation for the Mass, rather than in the body of the liturgy. The celebrant in these prayers is made to acknowledge himself guilty of every, the most enormous sin.

But the centuriators finding that the Mass was only confirmatory of the Catholic doctrine suppressed it as much as possible; so much so that Cardinal Bona had to search several libraries and all the Roman ones in order to get a copy of it.

The only word that would appear directly to give a clue to its "habitat" is the mention of the "Congregation of the Convent of St. Peter". From this Martene infers that the Mass was written in the Monastery of Saltzburg, near which there had been a monastery for virgins, founded by St. Rupert. Others with Mabillon judge it was composed at Metz. The opinion of Cardinal Bona is that wherever composed, it was never used in Gaul.*

The judgment of Cardinal Bona is the stranger, as the place where the Mass was found had been subject to the Carlovingian dynasty. The inference is, therefore, that it was not written by natives nor for that country.

But there is no need of any troublesome disquisition to establish that Irish pilgrims had been at home in, if they did not actually found, the diocese of Metz.

In the year 940, Otho III. decreed, in reference to Metz, "that its first abbot, named Fineen, an Irishman by nation . . . . . and his successor were to have Irish monks so long as possible; and in the event they could not be procured, that others might

* Vol. iii., App. xxxviii.

be invited".* If the Mass had been composed at Metz we know on whom to father its composition.

If on the other hand it was, as Martene contends, written at Saltzburg, near which St. Rupert established a convent for virgins, here, too, we are confronted with the presence of Irishmen. And, first of all, the office of St. Rupert is at present found in the Irish Supplement of the Roman Breviary, and his feast is celebrated in Ireland on the 27th day of March.

Who does not know that the Irish Virgilius was Bishop of Saltzburg? Nor can there be any doubt that there were many distinguished Irishmen there after him.† We know that Marianus was monk of Ratisbon. His successor tells us that he was from the north of Ireland, as were also his six successors; that Domnus, the seventh, was from the south of Ireland; and that the eighth, Christian by name, returned to Ireland, came back again, and that on again returning to Ireland he died.

Marianus Scotus, who lived at Cologne, Fulda, and Mayence, writes in the year 1056: "I, Marianus, a pilgrim, have exchanged my country for a heavenly kingdom, and have become a monk at Cologne".‡

There is scarcely a religious institution in Switzerland, along the Rhine, or in Germany, that is not associated with some Irish saint or missionary. Hence it is acknowledged that the Churches of Germany received their shape from Irish Evangelizers.§

* Lives of St. Rupert represent him as descended from the dukes of Ireland, and baptized by a St. Patrick in Ireland. Vid. Canisium, *Antiq. Lect.*, tom. vi. p. 1107, c. 1.

† *A. A. SS. Hiberniæ*, p. 756.

‡ *A. A. SS. Boll., Feb.* 2, p. 364.

§ "Prima apud nos cursus ecclesiastici ex psalmis, et canticis,

One thing however quite remarkable in connection with the Mass, whether written at Metz or Ratisbon, is that it makes provision for celebration by a bishop as well as by a priest. The preparatory prayers refer to the *Pontificalia* of the bishop, and the Rubrics in the body of the Mass also provide for it. This would appear at first sight fatal to the supposition of its composition by an obscure Irish monk or priest. But on a little reflection one can see that in most of the religious houses founded by the Irish, the Superior or Abbot, without diocesan jurisdiction, had Episcopal Consecration.

Hence the necessity of a Mass as well for a bishop as a simple priest.

This appears very clear from the signatures to a charter in a convent founded about the year 720 near Strasburg, where this Mass was first printed. The charter was given by the Emperor Charles in the tenth of his reign, on the 11th of the kalends of July, in the year 1070.* It is not so much for the signature of the emperor as that of others I introduce the charter. It was written in Mayence, and in favour of "the monastery of the Scots (Irish) and the Church of the Irish". Well, of the twelve signatories, all except the secretary, a priest, and the abbot, were bishops. The signatures appear as follows: "+ the mark of the holy abbot who requested the charter; + the mark of S. Conigan, bishop; + the mark of S. Echoch, bishop; + of Suathar, bishop; + the mark of Maucum gib,† bishop; + the mark of Canicomrihe,

et hymnis, collectis, et antiphonis, promiscue compositi norma desumpta fuit".—Gerbert, speaking of the Irish, *de Musica Sacra*, vi. p. 164.

* Mabillon, *Bened.* 2, p. 693.

† Zeuss suggests that we should read Maolbrighte (servant of St. Bridget).—*Gram. Celt.*, Præf. xvi.

bishop; + the mark of S. Dongus, bishop; + the mark of St. Erdomnach, bishop; + the mark of S. Hemen, priest". Nay, more, the first abbots there were Tuban and Duban, Irish bishops.* So much in reply to the objection to be drawn from allusions to the *Pontificalia* of the Mass.

Now the most remarkable feature in the Mass is the full development of these characteristics which in the followers of St. Columbanus attracted the notice and censure of the French bishops. By the bishops they were charged with an undue multiplication of prayers or collects, and they admitted the charge; but defended it on the principle that if prayer was good, multiplied prayers were only an increase of good. To such a degree did the principle receive development in the Mass that I counted eighteen prayers or *secret* prayers at the offertory alone.

And apropos of the offertory, its words present a strong point of likeness with Irish manuscripts.

Rhine Mass.	*Leabhar Breac.*
Immola Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde Altissimo vota tua.†	Immola Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde Altissimo vota tua.‡

Canon.

	Stowe Missal.
Offert pro seniore nostro et nostra congregatione, etc.	Offert senior noster N. prespiter pro se et pro suis.

Communion.

	Book of Dimma.
Communicatio et confirmatio corporis et san-	Pax et communicatio sanctorum tuorum J. C.

* *Ibid.* † P. xxii. ‡ P. 251., *R. I. A.* copy.

guinis D. N. J. C. mihi in remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum et conservet ad vitam æternam.

vobiscum; corpus et sanguis D. N. J. C. *conservet* animam tuam in vitam æternam.*

It will be seen that in one case the priest gives communion to himself, and in the other to another, and that consequently there is a slight difference in the form of prayer.

But a most remarkable coincidence is exhibited in one of the prayers or collects, and should, to my mind, of itself establish the Irish origin of the Mass.

It might be said that the prayers touching the Offertory, the Canon, and Communion ought to be stereotyped to some extent, and thus bear a resemblance to those in use with other churches. But the same cannot be said of the Collects, which were as numerous as the wants of the day, and as different as the various kinds of temperament that dictated them.

Collects.

Rhine Mass.

Sed parce, Domine, confidentibus, ignosce precantibus, miserere te rogantibus.

Book of Irish Hymns.

Sed parce, Domine, precantibus, ignosce pœnitentibus, miserere te rogantibus.†

* *Visitation of the Sick* (T. C. D.), found before the Gospel of St. John.

† Lebor Imuin, T. C. D. Some light may be thrown by this Mass on the puzzling preface of Scholiast on the Prayer of St. Mugint in the Book of Hymns. Finneen is one of the principal figures in it; there is allusion to the Island of Nendrum, and to the *great monastery*. So, too, in a copy of Priscian in St. Gall, the name of Finguine (Finneen) appears, and there was the smaller Monastery of St. Victor near it. In the copy of Priscian, too, appears Aendrum (Zeuss, *Gr. Celt.* Præf. xi., and p. 226). Could Mogunta (whose first abbot was Finneen) be connected with S. Mugint?

I have no moral doubt that the unclaimed Mass discovered by Illyricus is an Irish Mass. This Mass contains a prayer which touchingly acknowledges and regrets the misery and frailty of man. Its writer, like the Royal Prophet, while he appears to have sounded the depths of the human heart, bewails in inimitably pathetic accents its great corruption.

In all the Missals, Antiphonaries, or Lectionaries written or printed, I have seen only one other version of this *Apologia*:* it is in the Bobbio Missal, whose Irish origin is beyond rational controversy.†

CHAPTER X.

THE next and last Irish Mass to be noticed is in the Irish Bobbio Missal, which is the oldest, and probably the very Mass used by St. Patrick himself.

But before giving its contents I should apply myself to establish its Irish origin, the more so as some have gone the length of saying that there is nothing in the Bobbio Missal "to connect it with Ireland";‡ but I will briefly show that almost everything in it is indissolubly bound up with the Irish Church.

* See a paper read by the author in November, 1879, before the Royal Irish Academy, "On the Irish Origin both of an Unclaimed Rhine Mass and of the Bobbio Missal claimed as the Gallican Sacramentary". Vid. App. CC.

† Pope Urban VIII. in bringing out an edition, the Breviary, in order to show his admiration for this prayer, had an extract from it prefixed to the Breviary published in 1632. The prayer is indulgenced and is still found at the beginning of the office. What a matter for pride to the Irish Church!

‡ Dr. Todd "On Ancient Irish Missal", Tr. R. I. A., vol. xxiii.

The learned Mabillon* reminds us that St. Columbanus migrated from Luxueil to the monastery of Bobio, and thus brought into Italy the famous old Missal, which had been in use in the kingdom of Burgundy. But if there be any weight in Mabillon's argument, it tells in favour of Ireland. If the Mass can be supposed Gallican in its orign, though found in Italy, because used by Columbanus who came from Burgundy, so, too, by pressing the argument to its ligitimate consequences, we can infer with greater probability the Irish origin, because St. Columbanus came into Burgundy from Ireland.

If the Bobio Missal be neither Mozarabic, nor Roman, nor African, nor Ambrosian, as Mabillon has proved, nor quite like the Gallican Liturgy, as Mabillon had to admit, we may fairly claim it for a Church that had a Liturgy and had been fully established at a time when every other nation in Europe had not been half converted from Paganism.

While there is no matter in the Bobio Missal which is irreconcileable with its Irish origin, we are struck with the impossibility of making it fit in with the theory of a Gallican origin. Even Mabillon who has laboured most to establish this origin for it, is put out of court at once by the admission that St. Eugenia, a Roman martyr in the reign of Gallienus, mentioned in the canon of the Mass, was not known in the province of Burgundy. Not only so, but he acknowledges he knows not in what part of France she was religiouly honoured.†

Then, too, there is not the least allusion to St. Genevieve. This surely would be very strange for a Gallican Missal.

* Mus. *Ital.*, vol. ii. Præfatio ad Gallican. Sacram.

† *Ibid.*

Again, the recitation of the Constantinopolitan Creed at Mass was enjoined on all the Churches of Spain and Gaul in the Third Council of Toledo, held in 593.* Now the absence of the Creed in a Mass written in the seventh century cannot be accounted for on the supposition of the Gallican origin of the Bobbio Missal.

There is another part of the Missal to which Mabillon draws attention in order to establish its Gallican origin—the feasts of St. Peter and of the Blessed Virgin. Even for these he cannot satisfactorily account. The festival of the Assumption has been usually celebrated on the 15th August: it is found marked for January in the Bobbio Missal; he therefore contends the peculiarity of its celebration on the 15th of the kalends of February in the Gallican Liturgy is a proof of his contention. But this argument suggests difficulties. The feasts of St. Peter and the Assumption have no correspondence or warranty in the Gallican Lectionary.

We might, then, have claimed the Bobbio Missal as, to use a legal phrase, heirs by default; but we will do battle more nobly for our patrimonial inheritance. And, first of all, we should expect it.

A very old manuscript, which must have been written in the very century in which Columbanus flourished,† tells us in its own rude style, "that St. Mark preached to the people of Alexandria and Italy, and taught men and women to sing together the *Sanctus*, or *Gloria in excelsis*, or the *Pater Noster*, and *Amen;* and that he wrote his Gospel at the dictation of St. Peter". The writer has been speaking of

* Tom. iii., p. 479.

† Ussher, in the seventeenth century, judged this tract to be 900 years old. Vid. *Primor.* pp. 343, 840, etc. Fleming, *Collec. Sacra.*

the origin of the Irish Course or Liturgy, and goes on to state, on the alleged authority of St. Jerome, "that the Liturgy of the Irish was that introduced by St. Mark, and used subsequently by St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, Cassian of Lerins, St. Cæsarius of Arles, St. Germanus,* by St. Patrick, chief bishop among the Irish, and then by SS. Comgall and *Columbanus*, who was sent into Gaul to preach and found the Monastery of Luxeu, and thus the *course* introduced by St. Mark was perpetuated by St. Columbanus".

St. Columbanus was loth to give up at the instance of the French bishops the customs he brought with him from Ireland, or the variable and to some extent optional number of Collects at Mass,† and can we suppose that he would have given up the precious canon brought, as I contend, by St. Patrick himself into Ireland? Mabillon judged in the seventeenth century that the Bobbio Missal was 1000 years old; and as St. Columbanus died in 615, he could have used the very Missal.‡

* One would be disposed to judge from the number of eminent Frenchmen who adopted it, that this was also the Gallican Liturgy; but the writer tells us that the Gallican one originated with St. John Evangelist, and was adopted by St. Irenæus and other eminent men.

† "Columbanum etiam descisere a ceterorum ecclesiasticorum more et sacra Missarum Solemnia multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrare". Jonas, *Vita Sti. Eustas.*, cap. 5.

‡ My contention is that the Mass, if not most of the contents of the Bobbio Missal, is substantially such as left by St. Patrick. The Mass in honour of St. Sigismund has only three prayers proper—Collect, Secret, Post Communion—which were, perhaps composed by St. Columbanus himself. St. Gregory of Tours, who died 591, mentions the Mass of St. Sigismund, who died cir. 523.—*Glor. Martyr.*, Lib. i.

There is no mention of St. Patrick or an Irish saint. Just the very thing we should expect on the supposition that the Saint

By turning to the Felire of Aengus I find that the Assumption and the feast of St. Peter are marked on the 15th of the kalends of February. They are given in the same order as in the Bobbio Missal.*

It may be remarked that the 15th August, the real day of the death of the Virgin, is set down in the Festology as the great feast of the Virgin, and the 22nd of February is commemorated in it by the feast of the Chair of Peter.†

It is a remarkable thing, and Mabillon draws attention to it, that the Gospel for the supposed Assumption of the Virgin is different in the Bobbio Missal from that in the Lectionnary of Luxeu; but what is more remarkable still is that two festivals in honour of Mary succeed each other, and thus puzzle Mabillon. The puzzle is explained by looking into the Irish Festology, as there are to be found the feast of Mary

used it. The universal respect in which St. Benedict was held by the entire Church accounts for his name in the Canon of a Mass used in a foreign country, and especially Italy.

The *Leabhar Breac*, p. 91, gives a useful hint as regards commemorations for the solution of difficulties: "Martin mor-bomor ordinatio ejus, et translatio ejus corporis ex sepulchro, et dedicatio ejus basilica. hæc sancta sunt".

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 80. Morao petair apstail.

Iruaimrao ir doixu Larinlith ir uairlin. Dar mor mathair Iheru".—xv. Kl. Then the writer goes on to explain how the death has been celebrated on this day because of its having being made known only on that day. Atarc co roim tanic irin Lorin.

† *Ibid.* Here we have an explanation of the feast on the 18th January. "On this day the Emperor Constantine, owing to the miraculous cure effected on him through the intercession of the Prince of the Apostles, had his remains transferred to the Vatican. He assigned Rome to St. Peter in the person of St. Sylvester, left the catacombs to St. Paul, and built Constantinople for himself". Mabillon is not correct in styling it the Feast of the *Chair* of Peter. Vid. *L. Breac*, *supra*.

B. V., and of Mary (Martha), the one on the 18th, the other on the 19th of January.*

Now the fact of celebrating the Assumption of the Virgin on her supposed death would prove, in the absence of any other proof, that the feast was introduced not from the East, but from Rome into Ireland, and that the feast of the Assumption is as old as Christianity.

The Irish glossarist on the Festology accounts for the introduction of the feast into the Irish calendar in that it was on the 18th January the news of the Virgin's death was first made known in Rome.

But it may be asked if there was a festival in honour of the Virgin's Assumption in January in the ancient Irish Church, was a like solemnity observed formerly in Rome?

An inscription in the old church of St. Cyriacus leaves no doubt on the matter.†

Owing to the close relationship between St. Patrick and St. Martin we have lengthened notices and lives of the latter. Moreover, St. Martin is commemorated in the Canon of the Mass in the Irish Drummond Missal immediately after the Martyrs Cosmas and Damian.‡ Then, too, St. Hilary is invoked in the Litany used in the blessing of the Sacramental water§ which the Irish used, and his name is found also in the Martyrology of Tallacht. So, too, was St. Eugenia

* ectrecht muire martha l. ectrecht muire ir martha.—*L. B.*, p. 80.

† "Depositio Sanctæ Virginis Mariæ Matris Domini Jesus Christi".—XV. Kal. Feb. *Mus. Ital.*, vol. i., p. 56.

‡ St. Martin's name is invoked in the Litany and Mass used on Holy Saturday. Vid. *Irish Corpus Missal*, edited by F. E. Warren.

§ *Ibid.* fol. A., 198. *Felire Aengus, L. Breac*, p. 87, note, "*Hilarii Sancti Episcopi*".

known to the Irish. She who was not, to the knowledge of even Mabillon, found commemorated in any church in France, is commemorated in the Canon of the Mass in the Irish Drummond Missal.* She is commemorated in the Festology of Aengus. Her name is also found in the Irish Litanies. Not only so, but her domestics or followers are in the martyrology of the fifteenth century.†

The insertion of Eugenia in the Canon of Saints after consecration is not the only matter for remark. The termination of the names and the collocation of the seven female martyrs attract our attention. Thus it is Agne we have in the Bobbio Missal, so, too, in the Irish one, and not Agnes as in the Sarum Missal. So, too, we have in order Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cecilia, Anastasia, in the Sarum Missal; we have Perpetua, Agne, Cecilia, Felicitas, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia, Eugenia in the Bobbio Missal; and Perpetua, Agatha, Agne, Cecilia, Felicitas, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia, Eugenia, in the Irish Missals.‡

Once again, we know that the feast of St. James has been celebrated on the 25th July, and that of St. John on the 27th of December. How is it that both were celebrated in the Bobbio Missal on the latter day, whereas they are not commemorated so in the

* Canon of the *Irish Drummond Missal.* There is in it a curious account of a meeting with her father, who came to a monastery where she lived, in a footnote to p. 83, *Leabhar Breac.* Tanic ⁊iᵹ na tuaiṫe iarᵹain oᵹa aiṫe ꝓoᵹᵹe 1 beheiᵹᵹiḋe in aᵹhṫhaiᵹᵹe. She was commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies on the 18th of the kal. of April.

† *Martyrol. of Cathal Maguire* (Franciscan Convent, Dublin). ꝓᵹoti kekinte vel kenti, duo viri vel ennuchi de familia Eugeniæ qui cum ea ad fidem verterunt". The scribe is at fault in making the companion of Protus either Kenti or Kekenti; he was Hyacinthus. They are commemorated on 5th September.

‡ Vid. the Irish Drummond and Stowe Missals.

Irish or Roman Calendar at present? Our surprise will cease if we look into the Feliré of Aengus. Thus, in the eighth century, we learn that both were commemorated under one festival.*

I invite attention to the following, because of itself it were sufficient to establish the origin of the Bobbio Missal, notwithstanding the assertion of some that there is nothing in it to connect it with Ireland.

In one of the Masses given in it,† the Gospel‡ informs us "that Jesus saw a man sitting in a counting-house". Over the word *man* are two short words but full of meaning—*Levi Nalfei.* This when translated from the Irish is "Levi, the son of Alpheus". The very form occurs in the *Leabhar Breac*, and establishes beyond controversy the Irish character of the Bobbio Missal.§

Furthermore, perhaps I may remark here that the Pax which was given in the Gallican Church before the Canon, was given after it in the Irish Missals.

Again, another point of resemblance between the Bobbio Missal and the old Irish Rituals is found in the prayers before the Pater Noster.‖ It is not preceded

* Sanctolae Iohannis ir orir do borrgal abrath Iarroain la hIacob norroan. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 102, D. vi. kl.

† *Mus. Ital.* vol. 2, p. 358, n. b.

‡ Mabillon is doubly incorrect in volunteering to head the *Gospel according to St. Matthew* without warrant. The first verse only is from St. Matthew, the rest is from the Gospel of St. John, ch. ix. v. 9.

§ hIacop nalfei. fil alii . . . alfei 7 Zebedei . . . . *vel.* fil etc., *Leabhar Breac*, p. 90, l. 23 from the bottom.

The *n* was used as a prefix in the word, as in Nenagh, Naendrum, N-desi.

‖ Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione (formati) audemus dicere". *Book of Dimma*, who died cir. 620. "Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione audemus dicere". *Bobbio Missal.* ‖ *Mus. Ital.* vol. 2.

by the prayer at present in use, "Præceptis salutaribus", etc., but "divino magisterio", etc.

Another point of resemblance between the Bobbio Missal and Irish writings, is the use of the Greek word ἁγιός for sanctus. Thus in p. 281, we have *dicitur* αἵος, and *Deus* αἵος. The same and, I believe, peculiar use of the word appears in the Irish Antiphonaries and Hymnologies.*

Another test has been employed, by comparing the versions of Scripture in the Bobbio Missal with those in use in the early Church, and the result so far as a comparison was possible, has been quite satisfactory. The Bobbio Missal for the most part quotes from the *Itala* or pre-Hieronymian version. The version used by St. Patrick must have been the *Itala*, as before his departure for Ireland, St. Jerome's translation had not been fully perfected and known. Well so far as Irish copies of the Gospel in Trinity College afforded a comparison with the Bobbio Missal, a most curious coincidence resulted.† For instance, in St. Luke, the Vulgate has *omnis terræ*, but the Missal has *orbis terræ*, as has the Book of Dimma.‡ So too in the 12th of St. John, the Vulgate has *sine* addressed to Judas, whereas the Missal has *sinite*, as has the Book of Durrow. So too in St. Luke (xii. 35), the Irish ante-Hieronymian MS. omits the words *in manibus vestris*, given in the Vulgate, and they are omitted in the Bobbio Missal.§

* Simul regnante spiritu cum *αγιο*, all. *Leabhor Imuin*, T. C. D. Hymn of Apostles.

Dedicatur in moribus, Dei Stephanus *agus*. *Hymn for St. Comgall, Antiph. Bangor, Murator.*

† The professedly ante-Hieronymian version of the Gospels is comparatively useless for purposes of comparison, owing to the detached nature of the mutilated blackened leaves.

‡ *Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

§ *Mus. Ital.*, vol., 2, p. 288. Ante-Hieronymian M.S., p. 117, T.C.D.

Again in St. Luke, xi. 5, the Vulgate has *et si ille perseveraverit*, but it is omitted as well in the Missal as in the Book of Durrow; and not only so, but while the Vulgate has *importunitatem*, the Durrow M.S. and the Missal have *improbitatem*.*

As you are aware, the Mass in the Missal begins not as in later ages with the Introit, but with a lesson or Prophecy. So it was in the early Church. Let us hear what the Book of Lismore has on this subject. "And there were many ways for beginning Mass until the coming of Carolus the Great, ... that is, they read an Epistle at first. This is what used to be done till the coming of Carolus the Great and Gregory; for it was in the time of Carolus that Celestine put a psalm from the psalter to the beginning of Mass".†

The Bobbio Missal exhibits a most remarkable resemblance to the Book of Kells, the Book of Dimma, and other early Irish Manuscripts, in the substitution of one letter for another. Thus, the letters *e* and *i* are mutually exchanged; *m* and *n; l* and *n; o* and *u; p* and *ph; d* and *s* in composition; *d* and *t;* and invariably *h* is dropped where we now use it, and on the other hand it is taken where we now use it not. The insertion of *h* before a vowel beginning a syllable is very characteristic of the Irish. This is observable in Latin words, such as *Cohoperatores*, whose roots could never warrant the insertion of the letter *h;* and not only so, but even in words taken from the Hebrew (*Daniel, etc.*), the tendency of which is to getf a *h* between two vowels, or one pointed

* Ibid. p. 361, Book of Durrow, T.C.D. Even in this MS., among the oldest we have, there is an effort at erasure of the word *improbitatem*, as if for the purpose of bringing the reading into harmony with the *Amiatinus Edition.*

† *Book of Lismore*, fol. 117, Mr. O'Longan's and O'Curry's transcript.

by a proper vowel preceded by *Shwa*. We have also *v* for *b*, which when dotted at present is the same in Irish as *v*.* But this point shall not further occupy me. Nor shall I dwell on the fact that together with the name of the Abbot who lived a few years after St. Columbanus, the name of one or two Irish Scribes appears on the margin of the leaves.† I hasten on to more important points of resemblance.

By the way, I may observe that the same method of rendering Scriptural names is common to the Bobbio Missal and the Irish MSS. Take for instances the

* Vid. *Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2, p. 319, where *Sivilantes* is put for *Sibilantes* and *acerbis* for *acervis*.

† *Munubertus* and *Elderatus*. Munnu-Mofintanus-Munubertus. Vid. *Gadoilica*, by W. Stokes.

It may be remarked that not only did the Irish monks give a Latin termination to their name, but sometimes changed the name by taking one from the Greek or Latin or some other language which had the same meaning as their own Irish name. Thus the chronicler of Ratisbon, in giving the names of the companions of Columbanus (vid. *Fleming apud Sirinum*, p. 320), gives Potentialis for Lua, both signifying "power", Florinus for Ailbe; Gallus (at St. Gall), for Caillech. So too Deicola, another of St. Columbanus's companions, was the Latin form of Ceile de, or El-deratus in the Hebrew, with a Latin termination, and an omission of the first vowel of the second part of the compound אל־אדר. So familiar was the Hebrew to the Irish writer, that in explaining an Irish Hymn, "Sponsus idem *el* Columba", he makes *El* a Hebrew word rather than a contraction for *vel*, as I think he ought have done (Vid. *Leabhar Imuin*). Because our allegiance appears challenged not under divine but human images, suggested by the words from the Canticles, *Sponsa* and *Columba;* and it was no uncommon thing to have not only *el* but even *l*, stand for *vel*, "*(ve) l* unde agnitus", Glosses, Gadoilica, n. 23.

O'Deoraid is commemorated on the 13th January in the Martyrology of Donegal. *Deoraid* means a "pilgrim", and the famous Abbot of Cologne styles himself, giving no other clue to his name, *Marianus peregrinus*.

"*Peregrinare pro Christo*" was a familiar phrase with the Irish Saints, to express the 'pilgrim of God or Christ': both languages, Irish and Hebrew, may have been employed on the name *Elderatus*. Vide *Pertz*, 7, 558.

words *Zephan*, *Zorobel*, and *Scarioth* for *Stephanus*, *Zorobabel*, and *Iscarioth*.*

In an exposition of the Creed on the baptism of Catechumens, we have in the Missal an explanation of the symbols under which the Fathers of the Church loved to represent the Evangelists. The same symbolism appears in the Irish MSS.

Bobbio Missal.†	*M'Regols' Gospel.*‡
Mattheus figuram hominis habeat . . . pleni ordinis generationes enarrat. Marcus leonis gerens figuram, quia regnat invictus Dominus. Evangelista Lucas specimen vituli, gestat ad cujus instar Salvator est immolatus. Johannes aquilæ, quod nimis alta petierit.	Matthaeus bene vivendi *justo* dedit *ordine* leges, Marcus fremit ore,leo que similis rudenti intonat. Lucasuberius descripserat prælia Christi Jure sacrato vitulus, Johannes amat terras inter cœlumque volare et vehemens acqui quila, etc.

Another link in the chain of evidence is furnished by the beginning of Lent. In the Bobbio Missal it is represented as beginning on a Sunday, so it is too

* ccapioth ıapnn. *Leab. Breac*, p. 145, col. 2.
Scarioth, ch. xii. Ante-Hieronymian version, T.C.D.

† Vol. 2, p. 311, *expositione Symboli.*
Aireran the Wise, in applying the vision of Ezechiel to our Saviour, says, "O true *man*, O *Lion*, O *young Ox*, O *Eagle*". Vid. *Annals of Tighernach* for symbols.
It is very remarkable that the ante-Hieronymian MS. already referred to gives the Evangelists in the same order, unusual at present, as the Irish MS. of the tenth century, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. Like the Bobbio Missal, the ante-Hieronymian Irish Manuscript has *explicit, incipit Evangelium.*

‡ N. MS., edited by Mr. Gilbert, Vid. *Books of Kells, Dimma,* and *Durrow.* Vid. N. MS. plate xliv., where however the Symbols of SS. John and Mark appear transposed. *Giraldus Combrensis* speaks of the four emblems of the Evangelists on the Gospels.

in the *Leabhar Breac*,* and as consisting of thirty-six days.

There is a very striking similarity in the style of the prefaces and prayers of the Bobbio Missal and the acknowledged works of St. Columbanus. It is epigrammatical and antithetical. It reminds one of the antithesis of St. Augustine, though that of the former is more in idea than in words. For instance, in a prayer *Post nomina* in the missal we have "Ut admissa defleam, et in postmodum non admittam":† in the penitential of St. Columbanus we read, "Pœnitentia vera est non admittere pœnitenda, sed admissa deflere".‡

Again we read in the Missal "positus in presepe, Deus Magis stellam ostendit, homo ad nuptias fuit, Deus aquas in vinum convertit";§ and in the Irish Antiphonary we have "Manens in Trinitate contenetur presepi, veneratur a Magis, portendit discipulis aquæ conversionem".‖

This surely looks something more than chance-coincidence.

Once again, if we have in the Irish Antiphonary the prayer "Deus qui *pulsis* tenebris diei lucem tribuis adventum veri luminis tuis effunde famulis", we also have in the Missal,¶ "ut *expulsis* de cordibus nostris peccatorum *tenebris* ad veram lucem facias nos pervenire".**

In the *Leabhar Breac* and in the Bobbio Missal are given forms of a creed attributed to the Apostles, not only so, but the various articles are respectively

* P. 47, col. 1 "Do beṁm anoṙin do Dia maṙbad dechumad. aṙmbliana".

† Vol. 2. p. 358. ‡ *De mensura taxanda, etc., p.* 94.

§ *Mus. Ital.* vol. 2, p. 383.

‖ *Antip. Bangor.* p. 130. Muratori, etc.

¶ *Ibid.* ** *Mus. Ital.* p. 391, vol. 2.

assigned to the several Apostles. The creed in the Missal is stated to have been put together with great care. Of course just here we have nothing to do with the correctness of the creed. Considering the diversity of opinion prevailing in the time of St. Augustine as to the parts or articles assignable to each Apostle, or as to the division of the articles, we could not expect more than an attempt however successful on the part of St. Patrick, supposing of course that he brought the creed together with the Mass to Ireland, to anticipate with any correctness the creed with its division of articles adopted by and by in the Church.* It is not then so much for the uniformity in ideas as in the turn of expression, with which both creeds are gone through.†

Bobbio Codex.	*Leabhar Breac.*
Peter said: I believe in God, Father Almighty.	Peter said: I believe in God the Father.
John said, etc.	Andrew the Apostle said, etc.
James said, etc.	John Apostle said, etc.
Andrew said, etc.	James the Greater said, etc.
Thomas said, etc.	Thomas said, etc.
Bartholomew said, etc.	James of Alpheus said, etc.
Matthew said, etc.	Philip Apostle said, etc.
James of Alpheus said, etc.	Bartholomew said, etc.
Simon the Zealot said, etc.	

* The *Communion of Saints* is omitted by St. Augustine, Maximus of Turin, Peter Chrysologus, and others. St. Cyprian, in his Epistle to Magnus and Liberalis, has the *remission of sins* "per sanctam Ecclesiam". Vid. *Mus. Ital.* vol. 2, p. 396, n. a. b.

† Vid. *Leabhar Breac,* p. 102, Petrus dixit: Credo in Deum, etc.

Thadæus said, etc.	Matthew Apostle said, etc.
Matthias said, etc.	Simon the Zealot said, etc.
	Thadæus said, etc.
	Matthias said, etc.

Both creeds are more sparing of epithets to the Three Divine Persons, and shorter than our present creed.

In asking you to compare the Scriptural reasons assigned for the celebration of the canonical hours in both the Bobbio Missal and the *Leabhar Breac*, or Antiphonary of Bangor, I would have you remember that as in regard to the creed in the fourteenth century, so too in the arrangement of the canonical hours, there had been a change since the days of Columbanus. Formerly there had been three divisions of the night, whereas latterly there was only one division, which went under the name of nocturns. I give a literal translation from the Latin of the Missal and the Irish of the *Leabhar Breac*.*

Bobbio Missal.	*Leabhar Breac* and Antiphonary of Bangor.
"Nocturns are sung because of the power which the Lord exerted when he marked out the first born in Egypt, and when he led forth from prison Saul and Silas. And hence the Evangelist says:	"Nocturns are sung at midnight because at that hour the destroying angel came on the first born of Egypt; at midnight Peter denied Christ; at midnight Paul and Silas were freed from prison; at this

* P. 247, col. 1.

at the dead of night a noise was made, and, behold! the spouse went forth to meet him . . . Nocturns are sung because Peter denied Christ in his passion.

hour the Gospel warning assures that the spouse will come.

Matins are sung because the Lord rose from the dead in early morning; hence the Evangelist said: At dawn on the Sabbath day Mary Magdalene came when it was yet dark. On the third day he arose at the dawn of the Sabbath.

At *prime* council was given against the Son of God in order that the Jews may kill him.

At *prime* the three Maries came to the Sepulchre.

At *prime* Christ was dragged before Pontius Pilate.

At *tierce* he was crucified.* At tierce the Holy Ghost came on the Apostles.

At *tierce* the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles.

* The Missal here falls into a mistake which the *Leabhar Breac* avoids.

At *sext* the Lord mounted the cross. It was at sext the Lord called Saul when a persecutor of the Christians.

At *sext* or midday Christ was crucified.

At *none* Christ died, and the vessel of clean and unclean things was shown to Peter.

At *none* Christ died; at none the sun was darkened, and Cornelius was visited when the vision of unclean things was shown to Peter.

At the eleventh hour He supped with the Apostles.

At *vespers* the lamb was eaten, as was Christ our lamb, King of Heaven and Earth.

Oratio.

"Deus qui ex miraculo aquæ in vinum versæ", etc.

Præfatio aut "Contestatio".

"In quo excitatos remotis partibus viros stellæ perduceret".

Hodie aqua in vinum convertit,* in Cana Galileæ; hodie baptizatus est Dominus noster ab Johanne, hodie Spiritus S. Columbæ specie super Christum descendit; hodie consecrati sunt omnes fontes.

Ad pacem.

"Qui per unigenitum tuum sanctificationem salutis æternæ aquis regenerantibus præstitisti, et venienti super caput illius Spiritali Columba", etc.

Collecta.

"Deus qui sanctificivit Jordanis fluenta", etc.*

And as the *Leabhar Breac*, miscellaneous and fragmentary though it be, has been a rich mine wherefrom to draw materials for comparison with the Bobbio Missal, I will still crave your attention to the following from it, and from the Preface to the Sunday Mass in the Missal. My translation of the Latin and the Irish shall be literal.

Bobbio Missal.	*Leabhar Breac.*
"The Sunday on which the Lord was born (2); on to-day he entered into his baptism; (3) he performed the miracle at Cana in Galilee, changed water into wine; (4) on Sunday he fed 5,000 persons from five loaves and two fishes: (5) on to-day the sea was dried up before the people of Moses; (6) on a Sunday Peter was ordained an Apostle a second time.†	"Sunday on which the Son of God was born (2); to-day the Son was baptized by John; (3) to-day Christ changed water into wine at Cana in Galilee; (4) on Sunday Christ blessed five loaves and two fishes so as to satisfy 5,000 persons; (5) on to-day the children of Jerusalem came with dry feet through the sea; (6) on a Sunday the Holy Ghost came on the Apostles.‡

It were an endless task to bring together the points

* Mass for Epiphany, *Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2, p. 296. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 200.

† *Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2, p. 377. The phrase is *secundum Apostolus*, to which Mabillon calls attention.

‡ *Leabhar Breac*, p. 200.

of similarity or identity between the Bobbio Irish Missal and other admittedly Irish writings. I might have relied on the principle on which Mabillon was tempted to put in his claim as a Frenchman for the Bobbio Codex—that all other claimants had been put out of court. I might, having shown the insuperable bar to the Gallican claims, have claimed, to use a legal phrase, the inheritance for us Irish as heirs by default.

And having now seen so much as to the points of similarity or identity between the Bobbio Missal and other Irish writings, in the use and substitution of the same letters, in the turn of expression, in detached sentences, in long unbroken passages, we may safely judge the Bobbio Codex to be an Irish one. Not that I have exhausted all the sources of proof: so far from it that I have not alluded to two documents either of which of itself were sufficient to prove the Irish origin of the Bobbio Missal. There are in the Missal a Penitential as also an *Apologia*. These are found, almost word for word respectively, only in the penitential of the Irish Cummian and in an Irish Rhenish Mass ;* but for these I must refer you for the present to an appendix.†

The Liturgy for the daily Mass, in the Bobbio Missal, begins with a lesson from the Old Testament: then follows an epistle from the New Testament, and after that a gospel. Then follow four collects or prayers, as prescribed in the "*daily Roman Mass*", the first of which is substantially what is said as a commemoration of St. Peter.

* See a paper of mine, read in Nov., 1879, before the R. I. A. "on an unclaimed Irish Mass". Extracts from the *Apologia* with a prayer were indulgenced and prefixed to an edition of the Breviary, edited in 1632 by Pope Urban VIII.; and to the Roman Missal, in which the prayer is attributed to St. Augustine.

† Vid. App. DD. see p. 191.

After the prayers comes the *contestation*, or, as we say, the preface, then the canon.

The Liturgy begins for a daily Mass with a lesson from the Old Testament, then follows an epistle from the Apostles.*

Though there was not the confession of sins in the form of a *Confiteor*† as at present, there was always an acknowledgment of guilt expressed. The *Kyrie Eleison* does not appear, because the Litany used generally be said before Mass in going from one station to another; and where there were no such stations or churches to be visited, the Litany was chanted round the church or the altar, and to this the *Book of Lismore*, already quoted, alludes. The Litany consisted in saying for a certain number of times the *Kyrie Eleison*,‡ and meant the same thing as our *Kyrie*.

There is no mention of the *Introibo*, as not known

* The African Church in the time of St. Augustine read a collect after the prophecy, and a psalm after the epistle, which was sung by the choir and precentor. For that was substituted afterwards a few words of a psalm at the *Introit*, read by the priest and not the people; and such has been the practice for the last thousand years.

† The *Confiteor* in its present form was in use since the year 1300. An acknowledgment of guilt at the beginning of Mass, as shown in an Irish Missal of the seventh century, was made in the following antiphon: "Peccavimus, Domine, peccavimus: parce peccatis nostris et salva nos: qui gubernasti Noe super aquas diluvii exaudi nos: qui Jonam de abiso verbo revocasti libera nos: Qui Petro mergenti manum porrexisti auxiliare nobis Christe". *Peccavimus, injuste egimus.* Ben. XIV. de Sacrif. Miss., p. 34.

‡ "Media nocte exeunt cum Litania chorum virorum et mulierum. . . . . Una voce per numerum dicunt centies *Kyrie Eleison*, centies *Christe Eleison*, item centies *Kyrie Eleison*, flexis genibus, audita que Missarum Celebritate". *Codex Cass.* Mabillon, *Com. Ordo Roman.*, p. 34.

in the early Liturgies.* But unquestionably by the clearest evidence is established what the *Book of Lismore* states "that there had been divers ways for beginning Mass", not only in different churches, but even in a single national church.†

The psalm *Judica me* was not employed in the Ambrosian rite, nor is at present by the Carthusians. It began in the eighth century.

There is no notice of the *Gloria in excelsis* here.‡

After the Epistle came the Gospel, then came the prayers or collects.§ The first prayer is substantially what now is said as a commemoration of St. Peter on

* *Ibid.*, p. 47. Formerly a psalm was sung after the *Introit* on occasion of the consecration of a Pope. *Ibid.*, p. 117, vol. I.

† By the Gallican Liturgy, Mass began with an antiphon, followed by the *Sanctus* and the *Kyrie*. Amalarius in *Ord. Rom.*

There are different *Ordines* published by Amalarius in the ninth century for the Roman Church, and the rites differed not merely when there was a change in the festival, but even in the character of the officiating Pontiff: "Canere Matrem nostram Romanum Ecclesiam tres psalmos ante hymnum Evangelii et post hymnum duos per diversa altaria diversorum locorum sæpissime amen ad crucem et ad fontes ut ex scripturis discimus qui continent per diversos libellos Ordinem Romanum". Amalarius, *in Antiph. Capite.*

‡ The *Gloria in excelsis* was said in some churches, and then it was said by the priest turned towards the people, as if asking them to glorify God. Amalarius, *Com. Ord. Rom.* Mabillon, vol. 2, part. iii., p. 144.

Amalarius, speaking of the variety of rites on this part of the Mass, says: "Infinitum esset ire per singula quæ ut hodierni ritibus discrepant".

The fourth Council of Toledo speaks (in 633) of the *Gloria* as a prayer of thanksgiving; and Gregory of Tours (lib. 1 de gloria martyrum) says it was a thanksgiving after Mass in Gaul. It began in the East, came to the West; was first said here not only on Christmas Day and only by the priest, but by the choir by and by.

§ Collects derived their name from the gathering or collecting of the people at the *stations* where the prayers were said, so that the collects and prayers have the same meaning.

the feast of St. Paul; the second is for pardon, the third is one after the names,* and the fourth is for peace.

Of course any person acquainted with ecclesiastical history is not surprised at seeing the *Credo* in use at present in Mass omitted in the old Irish Liturgy; for it was only in the eleventh century the use of the Constantinopolitan Creed, composed about half a century before the mission of St. Patrick, became general after the Gospel.†

But though that or any Creed was not in use in the Liturgy, yet the Creed and its explanation formed a part of the Mass for those prepared for baptism.‡

The prayers, five in number, now found in the *Ordo* of the Mass, between Creed and Preface, are

* Martene (*de Antiq. Rit. Eccles.*, lib. 1, cap. 4, art. 3, n. 11) says that the number of collects was limited to seven, in order to prevent their undue multiplication. When Columbanus was in Gaul, the bishops there made it a matter of charge against him that he multiplied the prayers or collects unduly; but his follower Eustacius defends him against the attack of Agrestinus. Vid. Jon., *Vita Columbani.*

† In the early ages the names of the Apostolic Sees and their occupants were read out, and also of the benefactors of the Church. Traces of this may be observed at present in the memento for the living.

‡ Pope Leo III. censured the use of the Constantinopolitan Creed in which the word *Filioque* was added, because done without the Papal sanction; though by and by its use became general.

The use of the Gospel at Mass was of Apostolic origin.

Card. Bona does not agree with those who interpret some words of St. Gregory the Great as meaning that the Apostles used only the Lord's Prayer and the words of consecration for Mass, and relies on Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. 2., ch. 15. "Quod cum Petrus per revelationem Sancti Spiritus cognovisset librum illum (Evangelium Marci) auctoritate sua comprobasse dicitur ut deinceps in Ecclesiis legeretur. Refertur id a Clemente in Sexto Institutionum libro, cui testis etiam Papias accedit episcopus Hieripolitanus".

not found in our old Ordo, which is another proof of the great antiquity of this form of Mass.*

The secret prayers, by which we designate those said after the Creed or Offertory immediately, were in the early ages applied only to the canon.†

It was only in the third century, at the Council of Carthage, the prayer, "Receive, O Holy Trinity", was sanctioned for the first time. Between the oblations of the host and the preface we meet with no prayer.‡

There are several Prefaces or *Contestations*, as they were called, in our Liturgy, nine in number, and two were added to them.§ The Preface closes with the word *Sanctus*.

* They were known not before the sixth century. Bellar. *de Sacrific. Miss.*, tom. iii., l. 6. Ben. XIV., *de Sacrific. Miss.*

† "Tacite intrat Pontifex in canonem". Notum est enim ideo secretum orationem facere super Oblatam, ut possit ex ea fieri corpus Domini. St. August. vocat orationes totum illud ab illo loco ubi secretum dicit Episcopus usque ad *Agnus Dei*. *Museum Ital.*, vol. 2, note. *Com. Ord. Rom.* (2), p. 48 et p. 559.

‡ Canon 23. It has been remarked that during the four first centuries the word *Trinity* or a prayer to the Trinity does not occur in the Liturgy, in order to guard against the temptation to Polytheism.

John the Deacon, who wrote the life of Pope Gregory the Great, asks "why milk and honey are put into the most sacred chalices on Holy Saturday, and offered with the sacrifices?" It was to verify the words of Scripture, "I will introduce you into the Land of Promise, flowing with milk and honey". Ep. ad Senarium.

Again, he asks why *alleluia* is used till the season of Pentecost. He answers: "There are some things which have their origin in Sacred Scriptures, Old and New; others in the institution of the Fathers, as the Nicene Canons and other things, which each church is at liberty to use. We use *alleluia* at that time, while others do so all the year round, but God is praised by all of us"; and to show how the Church likes variety in things indifferent, he adds: "Adstitit Regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato circumdata varietate".

§ Those for the festivals of the Blessed Virgin. The Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites had a larger number of Prefaces.

Then follows the Canon. It was the Roman Canon, and the only one used in all the variety of festivals. It is substantially the same as our present one.*

There is nothing in our Liturgy to indicate whether or not the words of consecration or any of the canon were said aloud, as in the Greek Church,† by the priest. The old Irish tract on the Mass, already referred to, would imply that the canon was said aloud, as even after the consecration immediately the *miserere* was said aloud.

The Host was not raised after the consecration im-

* Some say that Pope Leo added the words "*Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*" after the consecration, and that Pope Gregory the Great before it added the words, "dies que nostros, etc., numerari". It is at least remarked that in our Liturgy the words immediately before them, "sed et cunctæ familiæ et nominis tui Deus", are cancelled in an old copy. Mabillon, p. 280., n. a.

Bened. XIV. *de Sacrif. Miss.*, lib. ii., ch. xviii., and Cardinal Bona (*de Reb. Litur.* lib. 2, ch. 14, n. 5) stated that Pope Gregory added to the canon the names of Perpetua and Felicitas (who were married), Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, and of Anastasia (Virgins). And it is remarkable that these names appear from a late hand in our Liturgy. Mabillon, n. a. Previously only martyrs and apostles appeared in the canon; and though there are several martyrs of the same name, yet it is only those martyrs are meant who died either in Rome or in the Roman Patriarchate. *Bona*, lib. 2, ch. 12, n. 3.

† Bened. XIV. *de Sacrif. Miss.* contends that even in the Greek Church the canon, much more the words of consecration, were said privately, unless for a very short time at the dictation of the Emperor Justinian, and that before long the original custom of reciting it in private was resorted to. Mabillon, however, leans to a different opinion. The *miserere* after the consecration does not sound so strange as a prayer by the Greek Church, "That the Holy Ghost would make the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ". It is something like what was meant at baptism by the prayer, "Tu Domine hos servos tuos qui baptizati sunt nunc, regenerationis lavacro sanctifica in veritate tua, imple eos gratia spiritus sancti tui". The Holy Ghost is invoked on those who had been already filled with grace and cleansed from sin. *Bibliot. Pat.*, tom. xii., p. 733.

mediately.* The ancient tract in Irish on the Mass, by stating that "not a sound comes from the congregation" after the *miserere* at the consecration, would imply, in opposition to the opinion of Benedict XIV., that the canon was not said in secret.

There is a slight change in the words which end the Canon, and which immediately precede the *Pater Noster*. In the early ages, at least in the Greek Church, the host was elevated before the *Pater Noster* rather than at the consecration.† Though the Lord's prayer ‡ is not given in the Liturgy, yet we may confidently assert that it was the same as our present version of it.§

* It was only in the eleventh century the practice was introduced as a protest against the error of Berengarius.

† Benedict XIV., maintains against Mabillon, that the people did not answer *Amen* to the words of the consecration; and that if they are represented as doing so, the *Amen* referred to the last part of the Canon (*per omnia sæcula*), which was synonymous for some time with the consecration. The people acted as our clerks in the responses. The chalice of our great St. Malachy had two little bells depending from it, so that when stirred they would excite the people to adore at the consecration.

Mabillon, however, quoting St. Augustine, in his Epistle to Januarius, maintains that the people said *Amen* of old at the consecration. *Com. Ord. Rom.* p. 48, vol. 1.

‡ Originally the words before the *Pater Noster*, were, "divino magisterio edocti et divina institutione audemus dicere", and are amended by a later hand into the form we now use: Oremus, præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere. Mabillon, p. 281, Col., 1, n. 6.

Some think that St. Gregory the Great added the *Pater Noster*, as some Sicilians complained, when he uses it, that he was only imitating the practice of the Greek Church; but he answered that he was only following the Apostolic institute, "quia", he adds, "mos Apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solumodo orationem oblationis nostram consecrarent". So that St. Gregory appears to have only restored what had fallen into disuse, and to have followed what all Liturgies enjoined. *Mus. Italicum.* vol. 2. p. 50.

§ There is scarcely a difference even of spelling in the version of it given by *Leabhar Breac*, p. 248. The *Book of Dimma* in its version of it gives the same.

The next prayer given subsequent to the prayer *Sed libera nos* after the *Pater Noster* is the Postcommunion prayer, so that in the interval the host must have been broken and consumed. Then follows a prayer called the Consummation of the Mass; then another called the aïos* or holy; then the *Gloria in excelsis* was sung; and after it came six prayers, and then the Canticle of the three youths, with the usual accompanying prayer, "Deus qui tribus pueris".

After the daily lessons and daily Roman Mass succeed the lesssons and Mass for Advent, Masses for the Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, for the Nativity itself, for St. Stephen, for the holy Innocents, for Saints John and James Apostles, for the Circumcision, for the Epiphany, for the Chair of Peter, for the Blessed Virgin, for the Assumption, for Lent, a second Mass for Lent, for the giving of the Symbol,† for "Cœna Domini", for the Vigil of Easter, for Easter several Masses, for the Invention of the Holy Cross, for the Ascension, for Pentecost, for St. John Baptist, for the Passion of St. John, for SS. Peter and Paul, for King Sigismund, for Martyrs in common, for one Martyr, for a Confessor, for St. Martin, for a Virgin, for the dedication of a church, for the sick, for St. Michael, for way-farers, for a Priest, for general purposes, votive Masses, for the living and the dead,

* Mabillon conjectures it represents the Greek word αγιος.

† The *giving of the Symbol* or Creed took place on Palm Sunday, by which ceremony the newly baptized were initiated. It took place on the same day in Spain, and Milan, and France, though subsequently, as appears from Ambrosian Missals, it took place in Milan on the Saturday preceding. According to the Roman rite it took place on the Wednesday in the fourth week of Lent, but according to the African rite on the 15th day before Easter. St. Aug. *Serm.* 59, *et Notatio ad Serm.* ccxii. *Mus. Ital.* p. 105.

for Sundays, for the burial of a Priest, and a Mass for the dead.*

Some things in these Masses savour of the Greek rite,† and naturally enough if we bear in mind that, according to the old tract already quoted, St. Columbanus used the course followed by SS. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen: in other respects there is less sympathy with the Greeks shown by the Liturgy than by ourselves.‡

Though, as one might expect, additions were made to the Columbanian Liturgy as evidenced by the Masses in commemoration of events which occurred after St. Columbanus' death, yet there seems no reason for doubting that it contains the Mass celebrated by the Saint, and perhaps by St. Patrick himself; and perhaps than the same Liturgy no Roman Ordo at present in existence pretends to greater antiquity.

* See App. EE.

† As observed by Mabillon. in quoting St. Peter (ch. 2, v. 55), it is the Greek and not the Vulgate which is given. "Se Juste Judicanti".

So, too in the Mass for Sundays, the Greek version is followed in recounting the fruits of the Holy Ghost.

‡ For instance, the Greek word *Pentecost*, which has become almost an English word from its familiar use, is never used, but rather the corresponding Latin word, Quinquagesima.

CHAPTER XI.

In connexion with the liturgy it is not inappropriate, the consideration of the vestments required for the Sacrifice of the Mass. If we are to believe a very high authority there had been in the early ages of the Church only a few colours, but principally white, in the sacred vestments.* It is contended that white was the colour which a natural sentiment dictated even to a Pagan Priesthood, that down to the sixth century such had been the usual colour on the sacerdotal vestments,† and that down to the thirteenth century only two colours in the Greek Church had been in use.

In the twelfth century, Innocent III.‡ describes the

* Bened. XIV., *de Sacrific Miss.* Lib. 1. ch. viii.

The vision of Adamnan (Vid. *Leabhar Breac*) supports Benedict's opinion, and speaks of "the wonderful assembly with white chasubles, and fine white hoods over their heads". Vid. *Leabhar na Uidhre*, p. 28.

† Benedict XIV. relies on a passage of Venantius Fortunatus, describing St. Germanus, Bishop of Paris, in the midst of his clergy. Lib. 2, ch. 10.

"Inde Sacerdotes Leviticus hinc micat ordo, ille jam senio, sed et hi bene vestibus albent, in medio Germanus adest antistes honore", etc.

This does not necessarily prove the colour of the vestments to have been white. Hoariness is the only whiteness attributed to the Bishop, while the Levites or students may have had white albs. To show that not only Priest but even inferior Ecclesiastics were to be in choir without officiating, we have only to quote the Council of Tours (2, can. 4), and of Toledo (4, ch. 17). Sacerdotes et Levitæ ante altare communicent; in choro clerus, extra chorum populus. We are to suppose that they had a surplice or alb, but it does not follow, but the contrary rather, that they wore a Sacrificial Chasuble.

‡ *De Mysterio Miss.* Lib. i. ch. 65. White was for Confessors and Virgins; red for Martys and Apostles; black for the dead, for fast days, for Advent, and from Septuagesima to Holy Saturday. Violet was equivalent to black; and green was for all ferial days.

colours, and limits them to four; while Durandus in the next century enumerates five colours in use on the sacred vestments, as known and observed everywhere. Others, however, speak of yellow as symbolical of the envy and rage of the Jews.* But turning to the Irish Church, we find in the eleventh or twelfth century, seven colours used in the chasuble; and like the canonical hours and other practices, they are defended by an appeal to Holy Writ.

The writer in the *Leabhar Breac*, instead of appealing to a pagan or natural sentiment, invokes the authority of the sacred scriptures, and sees in them a sanction not only for one, but eight colours. The following is a literal translation of this curious Irish tract, and because it throws some light on a disciplinary or Rubrical question that has divided the learned, it must excite more than a national—a Catholic interest.

It was written or transcribed in the eleventh century,† and may have been many centuries older; and for aught I can say to the contrary, notwithstanding the opinion of Benedict XIV., perhaps describes the Rubrical customs of the fifth century.

It is asked, by whom were the different colours put into the chasuble. I answer, it was Moses, the son of Amram, who first put them into the vestments of Aaron, his brother, who was the first priest of the Mosaic law.

* Bellotte, *Observat. supra ritib. Eccles. Laudunensis*, p. 781, n. 6, "Non immerito per flavum seu croceum designantur Judæi". So, too in the fourteenth century five colours are mentioned—white, red, green, violet, and black; while some counted the last two as one. They were regulated as much by the seasons as by the nature of the Feasts. *Ord. Roman.* xiv. Auctor J. Gaietanus, *Egloga Ammalarii abb. Museum Ital.* vol. 2, p. 290.

† *The Annals of the Four Masters* state that Diarmid Maol Brennain, whose name is at the end of the tract on the colours in the Chasuble, died in 1070.

It is asked, how many colours were placed by Moses in Aaron's vestment. I answer eight: gold or yellow, blue, green, brown, red, black, and purple. This, then, is the number of colours which every sacrifice-vestment ought to have from that time to the present.

It is asked why were there different colours introduced into the sacrifice-vestment rather than have one colour. I answer, from mystery and symbolism.

It is not lawful, then, for any priest to approach the body of Christ for the purpose of sacrifice without a chasuble of satin upon him with these eight colors in it. The priest's mind should correspond with the variety and meaning of each separate colour, and he should be full of vigilance and awe, and be removed from ambition and pride when he reflects on what these various colours symbolize.

What the yellow typifies, when looked on, is that he shall separate his mind from the ambitious designs and vices of the world, and turn his face towards Heaven in humility and lowliness, to God the Father, in Heaven. The white, when looked on, symbolizes for him that he should be filled with confusion and shame if his heart be not chaste and bright, and his mind like the foam of the wave, or whitewash on the gable of an oratory, or like the swan in the sunshine; that is without a particle of sin, great or small, remaining in his heart. What the green typifies, when he looks at it, is that he be filled with great faintness and distress of heart and mind; for what is understood by it is his interment at the end of his life under the mould of the earth; for green is the original colour of all the earth, and green, therefore, is represented amongst the colours in the Mass vestment. What the brown typifies is, when it is gazed on, that the priest should call to

mind the separation of his soul and body in death, and that his dwelling after death shall be the grave till the end of the world, and that hell shall be the lot both of body and soul after judgment unless his deeds be faithful here on earth. What the red typifies, when he looks on it, is that his heart should start and tremble in his breast through terror and fear of the Son of God; for the scars and wounds of the Son of God were red upon the Cross when he was crucified by the unbelieving Jews. What the black signifies, when looked on by him, is that he should shed bitter tears for his sins lest he be condemned to the company of the devil, and dwell perpetually in endless pain. What the purple signifies is, when looked on by the priest, that he should call to mind Jesus in Heaven, in the fulness of glory and majesty, with the nine orders of Angels, who praise the Creator for all eternity. What becomes the priest on this occasion is that he withdraw his mind from the wickedness of the world, and fix his thoughts on the enjoyments and delights which our Father has prepared in Heaven. These are the eight degrees designated by the eight colours in the chasuble, according to figure and mystery of the Heavenly Father. Thus the chasuble is the focus in which meet the eight colours, which defeat and overthrow the temptations of the devil in many battles, and destroy the vices of the world, and which increase and help virtues and good deeds. It is not lawful for anyone to introduce the satin into his garments on account of its lustre and its nobleness, unless the priest alone, when he goes to sacrifice the body and blood of Christ on the holy altar; for it is a satin chasuble he has a right to wear at that time". The prose tract on the colours finishes by observing, "that should any priest at the altar be guilty of any levity with fe-

males, even the smallest, that he must not receive or handle the body of Christ without a satin veil between them, and that he should do condign penance for fifteen years according to the ordinance of Diarmaid Maol Brennain".*

The old Irish Breviary, Missals, and Ritual have passed in review before us; and now the Irish Pontifical deserves our attention.

Having noticed the Creed, the consecrated forms of prayer, and the commandments received in the early Irish Church, the Sacraments with the rites for their administration, the several forms of Mass in existence, with the ceremonies and vestments employed in its celebration, I shall conclude our retrospect by giving in substance the form of consecration for the churches in which these sacred functions were discharged.

This form of consecration of a Church is, perhaps, the very same as was used by our National Apostle himself.† The most renowned Irish scholars‡ have pronounced it to be *very old*, and beyond the reach of modern dictionaries.

"First, a line was drawn through the length of the

* Diarmaid, son of Maolbrennain, successor of St. Brennain, died in 1074. *Annals of the Four Masters.*

† That the consecration of churches was performed by St. Patrick is made certain by Tirechan's annotations on his life (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 18). "After this Patrick went to Fiacc and measured the place with him, and *consecrated* and built his establishment". *Agus dia choisecrad agus Combed huad nuggabad.* The Book of Leinster, in giving the Litany of Aengus Ceile De, says "*Secht Coicut noeb Epscoip un bu cetu crimthur ro ordne Patraic la trecet N. abgitrec in cossecrad eclas dia N. ebrad etc., hos omnes invoco etc.*" *Leabhar Breac* also 99. c. So too in a council held in 450 by St. Patrick it was decreed, "Siquis Presbyterorum Ecclesiam ædficaverit non offerat ante quam adducet suum Pontificem ut eam consecraret". Spelman, *Concil.* p. 1480. Can. 23.

‡ O'Donovan. O'Curry's MSS. in the Catholic University. After the opinion of such scholars it is with some diffidence I undertake its translation.

church, and from this sprung, as branches from a single stem, the following order and divisions. There were twenty-four divisions in the consecration of the Church, and these were founded on five foundations. These were – the floor of the church, the altar with its utensils, the consecration of the exterior of the church, the sprinkling of the aqua vitæ, and the sprinkling of the exterior. Seven divisions arise out of the pavement. The first division is the *Introit*, when is said, "I will praise thee",* near the cross behind the door of the church: and after going behind the cross they then sung the psalms † "His place was made in peace", and ‡ "My house will be called the house of prayer".

I should have said, that after saying the *Introibo*, the *Our Father* was said.

The second division consisted in the Bishop blessing the water and salt. They were mixed, and the deacon carried the water to the altar from the middle of the floor.

The third division, springing from the floor of the church, is the psalm and prayers said out of the Pontifical to expel demons.

The fourth division are the prayers said out of the Pontifical to curse the demons.

The fifth division consisted of the prayers said when the bishop read from the Pontifical.

The sixth division in the consecration of the Church consisted of the alphabet written twice on

* *Ps.* xxxiv. 18. There must be some mistake here, or else reference made to the Italic version; as the words "I will praise Thee" are not found in any part of the psalm (or the next psalm) which has the words "*I will enter Thy house*". The words "I will enter thy house" occur again, and only once more, in psalm xv. 8, and even in this or the following psalm the words "*I will praise Thee*", are not found.

† *Ps.* lxxiii. v. 3. ‡ *Isaias*, lvi. 7.

the floor: one set of the letters begins at the corner on the south-east side, and ended at the corner of the north-west; the other set, crossing it diagonally, starts from the north-east of the church, and ended at the south-west, and the point of intersection is the letter O.

The seventh division consisted of the prayers said by the bishop from the Pontifical.*

Then as regards the consecration of the altar which follows, it consists of six divisions.

And first of all, water and wine were mixed in a vessel from the altar, and the consecration began.

Secondly, the board or table of the altar itself is consecrated. In order to do this the bishop makes a cross on each corner of the table,† and three crosses in the middle; one directly in the centre, the other two were respectively east and west of it. Then the table of the altar is washed in the mixture of water aud wine, and they sing: "Let my prayer be directed like incense in thy sight", on to the words *till* "*evening*".‡ The bishop opens the Ponti-

* Though there is a blank in the MSS. as regards the sixth division and the seventh, I can conjecture almost to a certainty from the context what has been effaced: *Ishi in vi. ed f in cosecartha fasas a sin lar i. indapgitur scripta fodisin lar. Isas ationscarra i. cna apgitur a sin ullind airther descumtaig cofecnither isin ullind i. airtar tuaiscumtaig tidnscurra ocro in adpigitur thane a sin ullind airtair tuaiscumtaig conficonider isin ullind iartar descumtaig incomracat na dihoo inmedon inlar l combi.* [*Leabhar Breac*, p, 277, col. 1.] Ishi in vii—ecarta fhasas a sin lar [col. 1, 2.]

† *Cetriardaib.* The altar was, as we can infer from this word, supported by props, rather than solid, and this was in accordance with the custom of the early ages of the Church. When Pope Vigilius was pursued by his enemies, he hid under the altar, and when dragged from under it, unless supported by the clerics with their hands, it would have fallen as he caught the props when dragged out by the feet.

Even the roofs of churches were covered with wood in the thirteenth century. O'Curry's *Manners of the Ancient Irish*, vol. ii. p. 58.

‡ *Ps.* cxl. ii. That is, the lifting up of my hand as an *evening* sacrifice.

fical, and anoints with consecrated oil the seven crosses of the altar, and says, "Let the altar be consecrated with consecrated oil".

The fourth division in the consecration consisted in the consecration of the *Impertor*, that is the (Paten or) dish off which the body of Christ is received.

The fifth division consists of the consecration of the chalice, and of the prayers said from the Pontifical.

The sixth is made up of the consecration of the several articles of furniture for the altar.*

There are four divisions in consecrating the exterior of the church, and four in the psalms and

* After going through two of the six divisions in the consecration of the altar, the writer proceeds to describe the other four parts.

Isi in treiss f. fasas asin altoir .i. coisecrad nananart agus a suidiugud for sin altoir. Ishi in cethermad f. fas a sin altoir .i. coisecrad indimpretoir .i. na meisi l breit bec dianairither corp cr: Ishi in. v. ed f. fasas a sin altoir .i. coisecrad in choilig, etc., Ishi in vi. ed .f. fasas a sin altoir .i. coisecrad coitcend fil. isin lib. ep. f. sin altoir conhauilib aidmid in alle. . . . . iiii. ministior (Ministeriorum) Ecclesiasticorum triplex Exsurgit .i. Atrig ord coisecarta .iiii. Ministeriorum ecclesiæ .i. naceither Ministerchi neclestacda.

The four "ministers" then were the sacred linen, the paten, the chalice, and the other apparatus on the altar. The chalice and paten were principally *ministers*.

This upsets the conjecture as well of Dr. Reeves and of *I. E. R.* (July, 1866), of O'Donovan (*Ir. Gr.*, 438), that "minister" means a portable relic, as that of Du Cange, "signifying a small table near the altar". The "minister" principally designated the chalice and paten. And in fact, the meaning had been given long before this by an Irish abbot Dungal, who sends some silver to a monk in France in order to have made of it, in the year 814, a "Ministerium—Calicem et Patenam"(Jaffa's *Monumenta Carolina*). The mistake of many who saw this was to make Ministerium a third article different from either the chalice or paten; whereas it is merely in apposition, and the same thing with them. Though principally meaning the chalice and paten, it signifies also the necessary utensils for the celebration on the altar.—*Conaulib aidmid in alle. Leabhar Breac*, p. 277, col. 2.

canticles. The bishop then goes outside the church, accompanied by two priests. Three priests remain in the middle of the church.

The bishop and two priests go around the church by the north-east corner of the church, and he blesses it, and begins the consecration, and says, "I pray may peace and abundance be in your house".* The three then sing, "I cried to the Lord when I was in trouble",† and "I lifted up my eyes",‡ and "I rejoiced at these things".§

As they advance they sing the antiphon of the fiftieth psalm with a "Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: as it was in the beginning, is now, and for ever shall be". The three priests inside in the church sing. Those inside and outside entone, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, have mercy on us, O Lord".‖ After that are sung the three psalms, "To thee I have raised my eyes", and "Unless that the Lord",¶ etc., and "who confides", etc.** They then repeat the antiphon and finish with a *Gloria*.

After that, from inside and outside, they entone the psalms, "Your spouse will be like a fruitful vine in the sides of your house",†† and "in converting, O Lord",‡‡ and "unless the Lord", and "happy are they",§§ and then entone the *Glory* be to the Father, etc.: "as it was in the beginning", etc.

Afterwards they chant the three psalms, "Let

* *Ps.* cxxi. 7. † *Ps.* cxix. 1. ‡ *Ps.* cxx. 1. § *Ps.* cxxi. 1.
‖ *Ps.* l.

¶ *Ps.* xciii. 17. or *Ps.* cxxiii. 1—2: "Unless the Lord had been my helper", or "If the Lord had not been with me".

** *Ps.* cxxiv. 1, or *Proverbs*, ii. 28, and in the latter case *Qui* is singular. But though the singular is given in the text, I am inclined to think it amistake; as it is a very common occurrence in the MSS. to join a verb in the singular number to a nominative plural. The *Qui Confidunt* occurs in the 124th Psalm.

†† *Ps.* cxxv. 1. ‡‡ *Ps.* cxxvii. §§ *Ps.* cxxvii. 3.

Israel hope in the Lord from now and for ever",* "Often have they attacked me",† "From the depths I have cried to Thee, O Lord,‡ O Lord, hear my prayer", and finish at the western corner by entoning the Gloria, etc.

Then they sing, "Raise§ up the eternal gates because the Eternal King will enter". The priests inside answer, "Who is this King of Glory?" The priest who supports the left arm of the bishop rejoins, "The Lord of virtues, he is the King of Glory". Then is sung, "The Lord's is the earth",‖ and was continued till they reach the south side, and say near the door, "Lift up the gates". The responses are made by the three priests inside.

The same *Introit* is now sung that ushered the entrance of the people into the church. The deacon takes a vessel containing the holy water, and carries it to the southern side of the church, and the bishop makes the sign of the cross on the right, and sprinkles with the holy water in the form of a cross. Each of the three priests keeps in his hand a branch of hyssop, while one sprinkles on the right, the other on the left, and the third asperses the beetle itself, and at the same time is sung,¶ "You shall wash me with hyssop, O Lord", on to the words, "I shall be whitened". "Have mercy on me according to your great", and finish by entoning the "*Gloria*, etc, as it was in the beginning", etc., and then a prayer from the Pontifical is said.

The bishop blesses on the south side towards the gable, and asperses it with holy water and the several objects. Then he goes to the north side and blesses

* *Ps.* cxxx. 3.
† *Ps.* cxxviii. 1—2. ‡ *Ps.* cxxix. § *Ps.* xiii. 7—9.
‖ *Ps.* xxiii., 1. ¶ *Ps.* l., 9.

the beetle* of the church, and moves on to the east and finishes the consecration.†

The ceremony of consecration is short and simplicity itself in comparison to the length and elaborated ceremonies in the Roman Pontifical issued since the Council of Trent. Of the many psalms read and sung in both, only two or three are common. And even when the same rule is used in both, the order is inverted very often. Thus the alphabet was begun from the eastern *side*, and ended at the west on the floor in the Irish, while it begins at the eastern, or principal door, according to the Roman Pontifical. So far from the alphabet being written in Greek characters in the Irish consecration the contrary is inferrible.‡ The consecration of the church began in the west in the Irish, and at the altar, according

* slegr.

† One of the priests sprinkled at the termination of the ceremony the Drumcli. If this meant a man, he must have been the bishop: because the Drumcli "had a perfect knowledge of wisdom from the greatest book, which is called *Cuilmen*, to the smallest which is called the *Ten Words*, in which are well arranged the good Testament which God made unto Moses". *Law Glossary* by Donald M'Firbis, quoted by O'Curry in *MSS. Mat.*, App. No. 5. But Drumcli probably meant only the left hand, as it was opposed to slegr, which was said to be on the right hand. By the way, the slegr in another part of the *Leabhar Breac*, treating of the commandments, is represented as containing the representation of saints: literally it means a lath or board or beetle. It was probably a board containing relics. Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 279, col. 1.

‡ Because the *Book of Leinster* tells that St. Patrick consecrated 300 churches, and adds that in a fine hand he wrote out 300 alphabets. If they were in Greek and Latin it is 600 alphabets he would have written—"Tri c abgitrech ro scrib. ba bil allam".

Tri c aptrech roscrit ba bil lid alám. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 220. col. 1, l. 20.

Besides, the alphabets crossing each other diagonally were to intersect at the letter *O*. Now this could not well take place if they were in the Greek and Latin, as the letters do not correspond in the number of letters, and accordingly they are not made to intersect by the Roman Pontifical at the letters *O.O.*

to the Roman Pontifical, as the bishop proceeds round the church three times and blesses the walls.

The modern Roman Pontifical directs five crosses to be made and anointed on the table of the altar; the Irish directed seven crosses to be made. The table was supposed to be of timber and not of stone. The altar was always fixed on the eastern part of the church, and the reasons given for so doing were: "In the East Christ was adored first in every church; it is because of the rising of the sun in the East that the *Orient* signifies the East as well as Christ; it is in the East Christ will come on the Day of Judgment; it is from the East the alphabet on the floor begins." Surely the Irish may be called a Scriptural Church.*

* Men were in the south of the church, women in the northern part. Down to the fifteenth century the right was determined by regard to the priest turned to the altar; but since then the right was designated with reference to the position of Christ on the cross facing the congregation. *Le Brun*, l. 1, p. 151. *Mus. Ital.*, vol. 2, p. 144.

The gloss on the eleventh stanza of St. Fiech's hymn in praise of St. Patrick is no valid objection to the practice of having the altar at the east. For though it speaks of the west, other lives of the saint give the east.

"With his table (altar) at the eastern end of his house: and all his people will cry amen, amen." *Leabhar Breac*, p. 26, col. 2, l., and O'Curry's *MSS. Materials of Irish History*.

CHAPTER XII.

THE *Annals of the Four Masters* tell us that the thirteenth century opened favourably for the Irish Church. Because if abuses existed steps were taken to correct them. In the year 1201, a synod, presided over by a Cardinal Legate, John de Monte Cælio,* was held in Dublin. There were present at it many of the bishops, of the inferior clergy, and many lay gentlemen. Several useful regulations were made. Of the abuses which occupied the attention of the synod and excited the alarm of the Sovereign Pontiff, not the least was the occupation of ecclesiastical property by hereditary usurpers. It was an abuse of some hundred years' standing. During the confusion consequent on the Danish invasions, the descendants of those men who formerly endowed the Church with rich acres stepped forward to reclaim the gifts of their pious ancestors. Not that they thoroughly secularized Church property; but, procuring ecclesiastics at a low hire who discharged the spiritual functions, they swept the temporal profits into their own coffers. Hence Pope Innocent III. wrote to John de Monte Cælio, in Ireland, to bring about the abolition of that "pernicious practice which allowed sons and grandsons to succeed to their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices."†

* Cardinal of Salernum according to the Four Masters.
† Ciaconius' *Lives of the Popes*, Tom. I., coll. 1160.

Another synod, in about a fortnight after, with like good results, was held in Connaught. About this time, too, the clergy used their influence in bringing about a reconciliation between De Burgo and the people of Desmond. The clergy were successful in their endeavours. But the reconciliation, as may be expected, was not lasting, for the kingdom was parcelled out among some nine or ten adventurers.* They had not actual possession of the territories assigned to them, and till then they could not be satisfied. It would be well for the interests of religion if at once the natives were brought under without hope of successful resistance; and happier still if the strangers were driven over the seas. Neither was the case. On that account the disorder consequent on the invasion of Henry II. was so far from being lessened that it appears to have increased at this period.

The adventurers were quiet only so long as it suited their purposes. Fitzadelm or De Burgo may have paid some deference to the suggestion of the Legate, but very little to the pleading of the clergy. Nothing is more shocking than the accounts given of his cruelty and irreligion. He slew priests and laics without distinction, threw down religious houses, and profaned the holiest sanctuary. But he was excommunicated, and under such a censure, in the most frightful agony, he died impenitent. Instead of receiving Christian burial, he was thrown into a deep well, and from that well he was never taken.†

In the early ages of the Irish Church, the influence of religion was felt in every dell, on the mountain top, in palace and in cottage, and through every

* Sir John Davis' *Hist. Relat.*

† M'Gheoghan, p. 304; Stanihurst, *De rebus Hib.*, lib. 4.

corner of the island. Not merely so, but the glories of that Church penetrated and illustrated every country in Europe. These glories were now quickly fading, and instead of directing our gaze to the distant lands illuminated by the diverging rays, the attention is concentred on the Irish Church in its decline and shorn of its splendours. The few remaining beams of light tremble and pale in Flanders and Iona. In the former place, about the year 1202, St. Manon, an Irishman, suffered martyrdom in the Forest of Ardenne.* Already, indeed, the time had come when there was no need of seeking the crown of martyrdom in distant countries.† In the following year our attention is turned to the far-famed Iona. For a long time Irish monks presided over that famous and holy retreat.‡ Their jurisdiction extended over even bishops. But at this time a new church was built there without the consent of the Irish Church. Some representatives were sent over from Ireland to protest against the assumption of independence. These were the Bishops of Raphoe and of Derry — Maolisa O'Dorigh and Florence O'Carbhallan—the Abbot of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh, O'Fergail, Abbot of Derry; Ainmere O'Coffey, and many others. They asserted the supremacy of the mother Church, pulled down the house lately built by O'Ceallach, and appointed

* Ware's *Annals.*

† About 1186 Gerald Barry, tutor to King John, twitted Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, because Ireland had no martyrs at home. The Archbishop replied that the people had a great respect for their priests; but that the time was now at hand, on the coming of the English, when Ireland would witness many martyrdoms.

‡ Even the Protestant Johnson paid to it the nice compliment of saying, "he did not envy the man whose piety did not feel a glow amid the ruins of Iona."—*Tour to the Hebrides.*

O'Fergail as abbot. It is the last time we hear anything of Iona in connexion with the Irish Church, of which for centuries it formed the brightest jewel.*

But at home at its very door there was business enough for the Irish Church to be occupied with. It met with as little respect as from Pagans from those who pretended that they came only to reform her. They treated the churches and the monasteries as magazines; their marches were marked by cruelty and plunder. Hugh de Lacy, the younger, burned churches in his march to Tyrone. In Connaught, William Burke plundered all property, lay and ecclesiastical. During ten days and so many nights, De Lacy, in the year 1206, plundered Armagh and the very abbey; and in the following or second next year plundered it again.† Such scenes one may be prepared to expect during the descent of the Pagan Danes on our coasts, but they were strangely out of character at this time. Such things, however, were quite common, and, what was worse, were enacted by the Irish themselves; and this fact, as much or more than anything else, will give us an idea of the awful change which came over the minds of the natives; for of all people, with a few exceptions brought about by the demoralising effect of the Danish wars, they were religious and scrupulous in their conduct towards places of worship. To such a degree were they so that in their eyes churches were sanctuaries from which the necessaries of life may not be taken. Now, unfortunately, from the frequency of bad example, they were found to desecrate the holy places. Dermot O'Loghlin, in company with the English, desecrated the shrine of St. Columbkille; but the annalists do not fail to tell us that they were

* *Annals of the Four Masters.* † Archdall.

defeated at this time by the interposition of the saint, and that Dermot was slain.*

Nor was it merely from the uneducated and low that the Church had to suffer. Its freedom was threatened by King John himself. The Chapter of Armagh, on the vacancy of the Primatial See, proceeded to an election. King John appointed a favourite named Tickell; but the Pope set aside Tickell, and had Gillivider consecrated archbishop. On the death of Tickell, his former nominee, the king appointed to the archbishopric Ralph, Archdeacon of Meath; but he, too, was set aside by the Pope. The king, indignant at the opposition to his will, sent orders to all the suffragans to have his own favourite recognized as the successor to St. Patrick. It was in vain, for Innocent III. was not a pontiff on whom the king could force his high-flown notions of kingly prerogative.

In the early ages of the Irish Church, the privileges communicated by the Pope to it, as to every other distant church, were very ample. The fullest powers were given to the first missionaries and founders of churches. The more distant each country was from the centre of unity the greater its privileges. Even at the present day, every necessary communicable privilege is imparted to the missionary destined for distant countries; and Ireland, because of its distance,† is relieved from obligations to which nearer countries are subject. For many centuries, then, owing to distance and difficulty of

* *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad. an. 1203.

† Amongst other concessions, the Irish bishops at present enjoy an exemption from an obligation to visit Rome oftener than every fifth year, the Sixtine Constitution notwithstanding. In the 13th century they were bound by oath to visit the shrines of the apostles every third year, either personally or by proxy.

communication, the Chapter of Ireland had the right of nomination to bishoprics and abbacies. This was demanded by the necessities of the Church, because if people were to wait till they heard from Rome in reference to a vacant see or abbey, before they were to proceed to an election, a very great delay and a neglect of the interests of the Church would be necessary consequences. On that account, Rome gave to countries much nearer to it than Ireland the right of domestic nomination. However, we are not to infer that the Irish Church was independent of Rome; because whatever may have been the economy of the Irish Church in providing for the succession of pastors, it was sanctioned by the Holy See.* Foolishly, then, do persons maintain that, down to the Synod of Kells, in the year 1152, the Irish Church paid no submission to Rome. Some fifty years before the Synod of Kells, Gillibert was legate to the Apostolic See in Ireland, and even hundreds of years before the time of Gillibert, there had been, according to Protestant historians, legates appointed by Rome for Ireland.† Palladius, the first bishop in Ireland, of whose existence there is no doubt, received his mission from Pope Celestine.‡

While it is certain that the Irish Church, though always subject to Rome, enjoyed the privilege of

* Something of this sort happened with regard to England. The Archbishops Paulinus and Honorius, in the Sees of York and Canterbury, obtained leave from Pope Honorius that either may, on the death of the other, consecrate a successor to the deceased, without consulting Rome. *Ep. of Honorius*, 6th Ep. Now, if we were not aware of this provision, we may be tempted to say that a primate wore the Pallium without the consent of Rome.

† "Laserean was legate in Ireland from the year 630 to 638. Ware tells us that Maguire, Archbishop of Armagh, had been legate."—Ware's Bishops.

‡ Prosper's *Chronicle*.

domestic nomination to bishopries and archbishoprics before the Synod of Kells, so it is no less certain that for a long time after that synod the same privilege was continued.* By-and-by disputes arose. Such disputes called for the interference of the Pope, and thus prepared the way for loss of independent domestic nomination.† Another reason for the interference of Rome took its rise in the wars in which it became involved. Anxious to reward those who rendered good service to the Church, Rome appointed to sees by "provision." By provision the Pope appointed to a see even before it became vacant. Of course the appointment had effect only after the death of the then incumbent. Such a mode of appointment, which was very common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while it precluded the chapter from election, rendered it necessary to apprise Rome of each vacancy. Lastly, a discontinuance of provincial councils in Ireland, as in the other national churches, led to the necessity of confirmation by Rome.‡ At first, confirmation by the Pope was required only for archbishops. The confirmation of the bishop elect was left to the metropolitan. This continued till the end of the thirteenth century.§

* Pope Innocent III., Ep. 226, in 1201, wrote: "Universis Clericis Cathedralium Ecclesiarum Regni conactiæ, quod Regium assensum in suis electionibus intervenire non recusent." And his 227th Epistle recommends to the King of Connaught, "quod hujusmodi *gratia* sibi concessa nullatenus abutatur." The 138th Epistle, written in 1216, to the King of Connaught, directs, "quod electiones Episcoporum et Abbatum a clericis facere permittat."

† Thomassinus, *Ancienne et nouv. discip.*, vol. 2, ch. xxxiv., p. 892.

‡ *Ibid.*, ch. xliii., Part II., Liv. II.

§ Thomas St. Leger, Bishop of Meath about 1282, writing to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, requests that he would write to the Pope in his behalf, and obtain for him confirmation, because

However, in the fourteenth century, the confirmation of even a bishop was reserved to Rome. Thus, in 1373, Edward sent to the Pope an ambassador who begged, on the part of the king, that the bishops, as formerly, may be confirmed by the metropolitan.* During the thirteenth century, then, three parties, the chapter, suffragan bishops or archbishop, and the king,† concurred in an election. In the fourteenth century the voice of a fourth party, the Pope, became necessary.

King John, not profiting by defeat in his contest with Innocent III. in reference to the appointment of Archbishop Gillivider to the See of Armagh, undertook to dispute the election of Stephen Langton to the See of Canterbury. In consequence, Pope Innocent laid his possessions in Ireland under an interdict. It lasted for four years. Ultimately the king was excommunicated and deposed. Discontented at his tyranny, the nobles rose in rebellion. In order to carry on the war against the Lacys and others, he sent the Bishop of Norwich to Ireland. The persecution against the clergy increased—their lands were seized; but after some time the wicked king reflected because the bells ceased to toll. There was no solemnity about the celebration of the sacraments. If an exhortation were addressed to the people on Sundays, it took place in the churchyard. The dead were buried in unconsecrated ground, and without the touching ritual of the Church. The hands of lovers were united in silence, and in the

his own metropolitan, to whom *confirmation belonged*, was now, as under excommunication, unable to give it. *Litteræ in Turri Lond.* Anno. 10, Ed. I.

* Thomassinus, *Ancienne et nouv.*, &c., Part II., Liv. II., ch. xliii.

† Down to the Reformation the king did not appoint to some three dioceses in Ulster—Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher.

porch of the temple. The whole Church put on mourning, and the gloom of Pagan times overspread the land.* This state of things continued for five years, and during that time there is no counting the cruelties and exactions practised by the excommunicated king. Bishoprics were kept vacant, and whatever monies were wrung from ecclesiastics had to be forgiven him. He bound them by a written engagement to declare that what he got was voluntarily given.†

At this time a religious penitential spirit led many from the pleasure of the world to the seclusion of a cloister. Foremost among these may be reckoned, in the year 1204, O'Felan, Lord of Great Conall, in Kildare County. On the other hand, a worldly spirit crept into ecclesiastical bodies. They disputed angrily for the body of De Lacy, whose death was said to have been caused by his cruelty and profanation of sacred places. Rival claims were set up by the canons of St. Thomas in Dublin on the one hand, and on the other by the monks of Bectiff, in the county of Meath. The dispute became so serious and obstinate that there was none by whose decision they would abide. Pope Innocent III. was referred to, but he devolved the examination of the matter on Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, on the Archdeacon of Meath, and on the Prior of Duleek. The annalists tell us that the contest was decided in favour of St. Thomas's house, in Dublin.

About the year 1206, Gillivider, whose election King John disputed, had to go to England to complain of encroachments on the immunities of the Irish. What these grievances were, or what redress

* Dunstable.

† The interdict extended only to the *English* possessions in Ireland. *An. Wav.* 173.

was given, the annalists do not mention; but it is not likely that much satisfaction was given by the cruel, mean sovereign. It is not likely that much was obtained from a prince who braved for years the most terrible exercise of ecclesiastical power by even the Pope himself.

If the pride and violence of the Lord of Ireland brought trouble on a considerable portion of its Church, a still greater source of trouble and scandal were the disputes of her ministers among themselves. The Bishop of Waterford, Robert, longed for a union of his see to that of Lismore. This brought him in collision with his brother bishop, Robert of Bedford, the Ordinary of Lismore. Both were English. The first was probably of the Fitz-Christopher family; the second was a native of Bedford, and named from the place. The Bishop of Waterford inherited the dispute from his predecessor, David, who, too, was English, and kinsman to the then justiciary, Miler Fitzhenry. The matter was referred to the Bishops of Cork and Killaloe. The death of one of the litigants put a stop for a time to the dispute. Now it was renewed with greater fierceness. The Pope had to interfere; but not being able to speak or judge from personal knowledge with regard to the circumstances of the case, he appointed as delegates to examine the matter the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Clonfert, and the Bishop of Enaghdune. They cited the Bishop of Waterford to appear before them. He objected on several grounds. Only twenty-seven days had to elapse till, by virtue of the summons given, he had to make his appearance, and he maintained that this notice was uncanonically short,* and the summons was served by a mere

* The notice should have been served forty days before the day of trial, according to the prevailing discipline.

abbot. The objections were discussed and overruled. It was found that thirty-nine days were allowed by the citation for appearance, and that the citation need not have been made by a bishop. However, the Bishop of Waterford, so far from paying any deference to the commission, laid violent hands on the Bishop of Lismore. Notwithstanding, the case was gone into by the delegates. Time out of mind, Lismore was proved to have been a cathedral church, and its present bishop to have been canonically elected; but, on learning that David of Waterford offered violence to his brother Bishop of Lismore, the delegates felt it their duty to put the former on trial for the assault. They summoned him to appear, but he did not. They inducted the Bishop of Lismore into his see, and fined David of Waterford in 160 marks.*

But the spirit that urged the Bishop of Waterford to the acquisition of territory did not allow him to acquiesce in the decision of the delegates. He became enraged, and urged his brother, who was seneschal, to seize the Bishop of Lismore. The seneschal, with the aid of others, came on the bishop as he was leaving his church, dragged off the episcopal robes, and, forcing him to the presence of his rival, the Bishop of Waterford, at Dungarvan, threw him into prison. Such conduct was looked on by the apostolic delegates as disrespectful to the Holy See, unworthy of a bishop, and personally insulting to themselves. They accordingly met with the Archbishop of Munster at Cashel. And as the Bishop of

* A mark was 13s. 4d. The gold mark was sometimes nine times greater, and when the coin was debased, ten times greater than the silver mark. I cannot say whether in the silver or gold marks the bishop was fined.

Waterford protested his innocence of the outrage offered to the Bishop of Lismore, the delegates hurled excommunication in general terms against the authors of the outrage. In the meantime the Bishop of Lismore lay pining of hunger and thirst in a loathsome dungeon. After the expiration of seven weeks, by some good chance he made his escape. He hastened before the delegates, and told the sad story of his sufferings and captivity. A citation was served on the Bishop of Waterford to answer for his outrageous conduct. He appeared, not indeed to offer an apology, but to threaten the delegates with his vengeance, and then departed. While in their presence he affected all the anger of calumniated innocence. Another trial was decided on; witnesses were summoned; their depositions were published; a copy of them was sent to David, the Bishop of Waterford, who was ordered to answer the charges laid and sworn against him. He appeared again before the judges, but did so in order to utter the foulest reproaches and most terrible threats against *them* and his rival. He even urged a cleric, it was said, to aim a blow at the Bishop of Lismore. He was not hit. For luckily he stooped; and the missile was buried in the door against which he leaned. The cleric for such an outrage, committed in the very presence of the delegates, was excommunicated by them. His company was forbidden to the Bishop of Waterford; but the latter communicated with him at the Sacrifice of the Mass, ate with him, and held him in higher favour than before.

All these circumstances were told and proved before the delegates. They, therefore, appointed a day for the Bishop of Waterford to appear a third time. He did not obey the citation. Another summons was sent him, a third, a fourth, and a fifth summons

was issued, but to no effect. Seeing themselves treated with such contempt, the delegates could no longer hesitate as to what course they ought to pursue. They excommunicated with bell, book, and candlelight both him and his adherents. The Archbishop of Cashel undertook to have the sentence published through the province. The Bishop of Waterford was interdicted from all spiritual care as long as he continued obstinate, and the clergy of Waterford were ordered to refuse all obedience to him. However, they did not obey—as a consequence they too were visited with excommunication and deprived of their offices. The Pope sanctioned these censures, and issued orders to have the Bishop of Lismore inducted to his see.* But while the temporalities were being fought for, the turbulent Bishop of Waterford, by some person probably in the service but without the knowledge of the rival bishop, was slain. An investigation was held; and it was proved that the Bishop of Lismore was blameless of the murder. This, coupled with the pacific character which he always maintained, must acquit him of all blame during this unprecedented proceeding.

At last the matter was referred to Pandulph de Masca, Legate; Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury; and to Benedict, Bishop of Rochester, who decided, in 1221, that the Bishopric of Lismore should not be united to Waterford; and that the union of both dioceses, made once on a time by Cardinal John de Monte Cælio, was void, and that the Bishop of Waterford should pay as costs 300 marks to the Bishop of Lismore.

While the See of Lismore had been troubled by the Anglo-Norman prelates, the neighbouring mitres

* *Decret.* Ep. of Innocent III., Tom. II, p. 659. Ed. Baluze.

of Ardfert and Killaloe excited the ambition of adventurers. On the death of the canonically elected bishop, the canons of Ardfert elected Gilbert as his successor; but at the same time, De Marisco, then Justiciary of Ireland, thrust forward his own nominee. The Bishops of Emly, of Waterford, and of Limerick consecrated him. His Christian name was John of Limerick. They justified themselves on the plea that he had been confirmed or instituted by the representative of the Archbishop of Cashel, a certain deacon. The consecration took place after the canonically elected Gilbert had appealed to Rome. In answer to the appeal, Pope Honorius III., in 1218, appointed the Bishops of Clonfert, Enaghdune, and Fenabore to decide on the matter. They were ordered to eject the intruded and procure the consecration of the legitimate bishop, and suspend the consecrating bishops of the intruded if proved guilty. Before appointing such a commission the Pope had waited for more than four months after Gilbert had appeared before his Holiness to afford an opportunity to the adversary of defending himself. The statements of Gilbert and of the Ardfert canons were confirmed by the legate, Henry Loundres. To his credit, be it said, that, English as he was, he requested of the Pope to annul the election of John and confirm Gilbert without further proceedings. But Pope Honorius would have the tribunal brought to the very door of the accused. The judges summoned him three times successively, but he did not appear. As an act of grace, they appointed a fourth day to give him an opportunity of defence. He neither appeared nor sent a written defence: some insolent creature,* on the part of the justiciary, came

* Gartione.

and uttered threats against the elect, the electors, and the delegates. So the canons of Ardfert and the judges installed Gilbert as bishop. Nor did this give peace to the Church of Ardfert. In 1219, the Pope wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, Legate in Ireland, to see to the truth of the statements made, and to cause the elect to be consecrated by his metropolitan.

The same scene, attended with somewhat more curious circumstances, and drawn out over a longer period, was enacted in Killaloe. On the death of Dr. O'Heney, on his return from the Council of Lateran, in 1215, the canons met and canonically elected their archdeacon, David, as successor to St. Flannan. But the same part enacted by the English justiciary, Geoffrey de Marisco, in regard to Ardfert, was repeated in Killaloe. He put his nephew into possession of the temporalities against the consent of the canons. His name was Robert Travers.* The Bishops of Limerick, of Waterford, and of Emly were found as pliant in consecrating him as John of Limerick had been against the will of the canons of Ardfert. The three bishops—Robert of Waterford, Henry of Emly, and Geoffrey of Limerick were English. The intruded priest, Travers, was confirmed by the official of the Archbishop of Cashel who had been away at Rome.

The canons of Killaloe and the bishop elect complained of the annoyance given by Travers. Pope Honorius III., in 1218, appointed the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Clonfert and Enaghdune to investigate and decide on the matter. The canons gave the highest character of the bishop elect, and the apostolic delegate found on inquiry that his moral qualities and intellectual attainments were of

* He was nephew by the mother to Marisco, "*Avunculus ejus.*"

a respectable order. Their decision was in his favour; and they accordingly ordered the Archbishop of Cashel to consecrate him. But the decision did not restore peace to the widowed Church. In 1219, Honorius III. wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, his legate for Ireland, put him in possession of the whole case, and made him acquainted with the decision of the three delegates. In his letter to the legate he mentions that the Archbishop of Cashel refused carrying the decision of the judges into effect by consecrating David. His excuse was that he feared the power of the justiciary, that he had already suffered a long banishment in France for the liberties of the Church of Cashel; and, therefore, he besought his Holiness to commission some Gaulish bishops or some persons other than himself to the duty of consecrating the bishop elect. All this—what had been done from the intrusion of Travers up to the present—the Pope touched on when writing to the Archbishop of Dublin. The canonically elected supplicated his Holiness to regard with compassionate consideration his labours and expense, and cause the removal of the intruded from the Church of Killaloe. But as the Pope could not rely implicitly on the statements made by any of the parties,* he commissioned the delegate to investigate the matter fully; to keep before his eyes the divine judgments: if the proceedings of the former delegates were according to law, to have them acted on; to visit all opposition with the heaviest censure of the Church; to inhibit all right of appeal, and to order the Archbishop of Cashel either to consecrate, as in

* "Quia tamen Apostolica sedes ab hominibus illius gentis falsas literas exhibentibus aliquando fuit in casu simili circumventum." He alluded probably to the disputed election of Ross, in 1196

duty bound, the Archdeacon of Killaloe, or devolve the duty on some other bishop in Ireland or England. Then he wound up in words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and that directly show the groundless charge made against the Popes—that of helping to crush the native clergy.* "Proceed, then," the Pope continued, "carefully, anxiously, and with single-mindedness in this matter: since, in this business, there ought to be no acceptance of persons, take care that you do not deserve censure by unworthily favouring the aforesaid Robert and others of your country, by whom the Irish people complain of being most sorely and iniquitously oppressed." Here we see the Pope stand up for freedom of election; because Travers was intruded by laical force. Backed as he was by the representative of English power in Ireland—his maternal uncle—a power before which the Archbishop of Cashel quailed, and which kept his authority in abeyance, Robert Travers is set aside for the humble archdeacon, the object of the chapter's legitimate choice. The decision of the legate, whatever it may have been, did not satisfy Travers. In the year 1226, the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel and to the Bishops of Limerick and Cloyne to have the intruder removed, and a fit person appointed to the administration of the diocese: not only so, but he wrote to the King of England, and besought him, through the respect he owed to the Apostolic See, to aid in giving effect to the efforts of the bishops and the Chapter of Killaloe. I should have remarked that this sad business occupied the attention of three legates, and that when James, penitentiary and chaplain and at the same time legate of Pope

* Dr. Todd's *Theory*.—See Preface.

Honorius, confirmed the decision of the three episcopal delegates, he consecrated David.

David died in Rome before the expulsion of Travers from the see of Killaloe. The decision of the three bishops, in 1226, was to have been without appeal, and was final. And because the abbot of St. Peter and Paul on the Fergus, near Clare, incurred much toil and expense in going to Rome, with a view to the settlement of all difficulties, it was ordered that he should be indemnified for all reasonable expenses out of the goods of the Church of Killaloe.

How strangely and pleasurably with the Anglo-Norman prelates' conduct that of the Archbishop of Cashel, O'Heney, contrasts. The annals of St. Mary, Dublin, inform us that, in 1206, died Matthew, Archbishop of Cashel, legate to Ireland, the wisest, the most religious man amongst the natives of the country: "Having founded many churches, having triumphed over the old enemy of mankind, working many miracles, and voluntarily abandoning all worldly pomp, happily went to rest in the abbey of Holy Cross, in Tipperary." Nor need we hesitate to say that the ambitious Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics of Ardfert, Killaloe, and Waterford differed much from others of their countrymen. For, not to speak of other places, even Dublin, the heart of the *Pale*, was blessed with some prelates whose virtues and learning would do credit to any see in Christendom.

In the course of the following year Pope Innocent III., as if solely occupied with the Irish Church, writes to the Archbishop of Cashel, and gives instructions for the minutest details for the merest ceremonial of religion. To understand this I must speak of the pallium. The pallium was a badge of the plenitude of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It had not been always in use in the Christian Church. The material was

got from the wool of lambs, presented in the Church of St. Agnes on the altar at the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass. The lambs were then given to apostolic sub-deacons, and fed by nuns, and finally shorn in due time. The wool was laid on the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul at the high altar during the night. While so placed, the sub-deacons kept watch over it. Such is the material of the palliums. It was not always in use. The old city of Vienna received it for the first time in the eighth century.* Originally the pallium was an ornament worn by the Christian emperors, and, in course of time, given by them to eminent Christian bishops as an ornament. Time went on, and afterwards the pallium was reserved to archbishops. Even to these it was not given promiscuously before the decree of Pope Zachary. From the sixth century it was given to apostolic delegates.† In later ages it was applied for by the metropolitans before the expiration of three months after consecration.‡ Were one to receive it by proxy the procurator took the usual oath in his name, promised to stop, unless from necessity, no more than one night in one place, and while in that place to deposit it in the cathedral or collegiate church. In the absence of either it might be left in the parish church. It symbolized the ephod worn by the Jewish high-priest. By that name it was sometimes understood. It symbolized the several virtues that ought to adorn the minister of Christ and the pastor of the people. It bore a label in front for the breast and another for the shoulders; typified the severity that ought to be

* Baronius, ad an. 738.

† Bona, *De rebus liturgicis*. Marca, *De concordia*, &c. Spelman.

‡ If one neglected receiving the pallium within three months after election, he was deprived of communion; if there were a neglect for five months, it precluded the consecration of the elect for any diocese.—*Corpus juris canonici*, Pars I. Distinct. c. p. 122.

used towards the obstinate, but the piety and gentleness to be exercised to the penitent and humble; was suggestive of purity and conformity between preaching and practice, of the active and contemplative life; it conducted one to the Mount, like Moses, and by-and-by putting Martha forward as a model gently led one to the ministry; it encouraged moderation in prosperity and fortitude in adversity; symbolized the cardinal virtues, included compunction, labour, and the fear of the Lord.*

The pallium may not be lent; it could be used neither by the archbishop outside the province, nor on his deposition by another. It was buried with the wearer. Innocent III. then wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel to determine the days on which he might wear the pallium—time-honoured—so full of mystic and sublime meaning. These days were Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Hypapante,† Dominica Gaudete,‡ de Lætare Jerusalem,§ Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Easter Monday, Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, the three festivals of the B. V. Mary,‖ St. John's Day, All Saints' Day, the festivals of the Apostles. The pallium was to be used, too, on the dedication of churches, ordination of priests, the principal festivals of the Church of Cashel, and on the

* For a fuller description of the mystic meaning of the ornaments, see Alan's *Registry*, p. 277.

† The Purification of the B. V. M. The word comes from *ὑπαντάω, to meet*, because on that day the Immaculate Virgin met Holy Simeon in the Temple.

‡ This was the third Sunday of Advent. It was so called because the Introit of the Mass on that day begins with the word *Gaudete*.

§ This was the fourth Sunday of Lent. The Introit in the Mass of that day begins with these words.

‖ They were in all likelihood the Annunciation, the Assumption, and the Nativity.

anniversary of the archbishop's consecration.* The form of delivering the pall ran thus:—"To the honour of Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of our Lord Pope ——, and of the Roman Church, as of the Church committed to thee, we deliver to thee the pall taken from the body of St. Peter, a badge of the fulness of the pontifical power, that you may use it within your church on the days expressed in the privileges given to thee." The granting of the pallium to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1279 will give an idea of the zealous care with which it was preserved. "The clerics of Lincoln and Coventry were commissioned to give the Pallium to the archbishop. If one died, the other could have given it; and if both died, they should take care that the Pallium would be carefully deposited in the cathedral or religious church where they might chance to die, in order to have it given to the bishop, according to the form given to you as soon as possible." The pallium was sent to the Bishops of London, Norwich, and Worcester through the rector, Stephen, and Adam, of Newtown; and the bishops, or any of them, were to forward it to the elect, and that the aforesaid cleric and rector were to require an oath on the occasion of presenting it in the above form, and receive the oath of fealty.†

* We learn from Swayn's Registry that, in 1444, the Archbishop of Armagh ordered the Bishop of Clogher to have his people assembled on the Sunday after "Corpus Christi," that they may be present at the Mass of the pallium, to be celebrated by himself. Though the appointed day is not mentioned among the privileged festivals specified by Innocent III., yet it may be an anniversary of the Archbishop's consecration, or a day on which he was to ordain clergymen; and so the regulations in the text may not have been departed from.

† See Theiner, *Veter Mon*, ad an. In 1259, Cardinal Napoleon, of St. Adrian's, gave the pallium to Patrick, Archbishop of Dublin—the first mention of the Napoleons in connexion with the Irish Church.

A striking peculiarity in the Irish Church had been, even down to a late period, the multiplication of dioceses. However, since the coming of the English, the great aim of the English churchmen was the consolidation of livings. This happened either because the temporalities had become less productive, or more probably because the love of gain, which drove the English ecclesiastics to Ireland, could ill brook the scanty living with which the Irish cleric of simple, severe habits would have felt satisfied. But a while ago the scandalous disputes for the Bishopric of Lismore passed before our eyes. In the year 1210, on the death of Celestine O'Duffy, the See of Mayo was sought to be annexed to that of Tuam.* Clonard, Kells, Rathlure, Duleek, Iniscathy, and Roscrea had already been absorbed by larger dioceses. To the independent existence, however, of these respective sees the Roman legate, Paparo, gave his full concurrence. The supposed union of Glendalough with the See of Dublin, in 1214, is attended with some difficulty. For, down to the close of the fifteenth century, there were occasional appointments to Glendalough. This, indeed, might have arisen as well from the glorious associations that hung round Glendalough while an espiscopal see, as from that spirit of independence in the brave peasants of Wicklow, which spurned an union with what they looked on as the stronghold of English power.

The occasional appointments then to Glendalough are quite natural and reconcilable with an union in 1214. The supposed union took place on the strength of an arrangement made at the Synod of Kells; though for some reason the union was deferred unto the present time. In confirmation of such an arrange-

* Ware says that it was actually annexed.

ment the testimony of O'Ruadan, Archbishop of Tuam, is adduced. It ran thus:—*"Master John Paparo, legate of the Roman Church, coming to Ireland, found a bishop dwelling in Dublin, who then exercised his episcopal functions within the city. He found in the same diocese another church amid the mountains, which was called a city, and had a country† or assistant bishop. The legate appointed Dublin the best city in the province to be the metro-

* It is styled, "Testimony of Archbishop Tuam and his Suffragans." "A Letter concerning the Bulls sent into Ireland."

† The Annals of the Irish Church throw considerable light on a subject that has been attended with much perplexity and obscurity. The nature of the term "chorepiscopus" has divided the world of ecclesiastical antiquarians. One party maintains that the "chorepiscopus," or country bishop, had not episcopal consecration; that he was no more than a rural dean. At the same time, he could ordain persons to the office of reader, sub-deacon, exorcist, but not to that of deacon. He could give the veil, or officiate at the consecration of a virgin. Another section of antiquarians insists that the chorepiscopus received the episcopal character, but was subordinate in some respects in jurisdiction to the city bishop. Men of this class tell us that, in the early ages of the Church, the bishop, with a number of priests under him, managed the spiritual concerns of some district: that, as the population increased, or the work of conversion went on, he was unable to attend to the more distant part of his district; and that, consequently, before the division of parishes was known, he had to appoint another bishop to it. Because for many centuries the Church did not give generally independent jurisdiction over any district to a simple priest. From various causes it can be inferred that the "chorepiscopus" had power to confirm the newly-baptized; to grant dismissory letters to the clergymen who wished to remove from one district to another; had the power of voting in synods.—Bingham's *Council of Antioch*, can. x. and viii. The decree of the Synod of Kells, relative to the reduction of bishoprics stood thus:—"Decedentibus Corepiscopis et Exiliorum (?) Sedium Episcopis in Hibernia in eorum loco eligentur Archipresbyteri in diœcesanos constituendi, qui cleri et populi solicitudinem gerant infra suos limites et ut eorum sedes in totidem confecta decanatuum ruralium eligerentur."—Simon Rochfort's *Constitutions*. This decree clearly proves that the country bishops were more than rural deans; because, on the death of the bishops, it was said

political See. He gave the pall to the bishop who then presided over the Church of Dublin, and so arranged a division of the diocese in which there were two cities, that one part should belong to the metropolitical See and the other part to the bishop on the mountains; so that we firmly believe this to have been done with the intention that the part belonging to the bishop on the mountains, on his death, should fall to the metropolitan; and that such would have been the case were it not for the stubbornness of the Irish, who then mastered that portion of the country. When the Lord, Henry King of England, became acquainted with the disposition of the legate, he gave accordingly the lands to the metropolis. King John, whilst only earl, ratified the same lands to the predecessor of the present incumbent on fully learning the disposition made by the legate. Moreover, the holy church amid the mountains, though formerly held in great reverence on account of the sanctity of St. Kevin, who led there a penitential eremitical life, now, however, is so desolate for the last forty years, that it has become a den of thieves; so that more murders are committed there than in any other place in Ireland by reason of its desert character." In the following years, in 1215, or in 1216, the union of Dublin and Glendalough was ratified by the Pope.

During centuries Glendalough had only a few bishops; and the election of these few was owing to what O'Ruadan said was characteristic of the native—the spirit of independence. While Glendalough lost

that successors to them should be no more than deans. Bingham (Book II. ch. xiv., *De originibus*) and Bergier (*Theolog. Dic. au mot "choreveque"*) are wrong in saying (as also Dr. Tood in his introduction to the *Life of St. Patrick*) that the office was abolished in the Western Church in the eleventh century. It did not begin till the middle of the fourth century in the Western Church.

its independence as an episcopal see, it would have forfeited, too, the privileges of a chapter were it not for the decision of Archbishop O'Ruadan. Prince John, in granting Glendalough to Dublin only carried into effect what had been determined on by Cardinal Paparo, the Pope's legate, and confirmed by another legate, O'Heney of Cashel, in 1192.

It is in the remembrance of the reader how John, by his tyranny and exactions even towards the Church, roused the people to rebellion, and brought down the terrible sentence of an interdict on his possessions in Ireland. Even a female might not, without his permission, enter on a religious life.* The interdict, however, was removed in the year 1213. In the month of October in that year a reconciliation took place between the king and the Pope, through the Bishop of Tusculum, his legate. The basis of the reconciliation was a guarantee on the part of the king to pay 1,000 marks yearly to the Pope.† Seven hundred were to be paid for England, and three hundred marks for his possessions in Ireland.‡ He put both kingdoms as a feudal tenure under the protection of the Holy See. He promised to secure freedom of election to the chapter, but required the profits of the vacant sees. Accordingly, the Pope

* "Rolls Parl. John, 63. In 1206, he demanded money from the clergy, not, indeed, as a right, "non consuetudinarie sed amicabiliter."—Rymer's *Fœdera*.

† The Bishop of Norwich, with two associates, had been sent to Rome, who brought back letters of reconciliation from the Pope; and during their absence the legate arrived, through whom King John swore fealty to the Pope.

‡ The 300 marks were to be paid in addition to the Peter Pence; but I suspect that little, if any, of the Peter Pence was paid in Ireland. Even in England, in which they were established for centuries, there was a disposition to discontinue them. Pope innocent complained that, though upwards of £865 were gathered, he received only £199 8*s*.—Lingard.

wrote to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, acquainting them of the reconciliation with King John, and urging them to pay and preach up allegiance to him.* Notwithstanding his promise, King John gave cause of complaint. It was preferred on the part of the Church through the Archbishop of Dublin. Among the several abuses complained of were those arising from the forest laws.† Legislation on this matter was a source of great annoyance and sometimes of bloodshed. In the time of Henry II. the Bishop of Salisbury was fined £75 7*s.*, and Adam Brus £100, for having taken a roe-buck. Those who could not pay a mulct were imprisoned ; and such as, at the expiration of a year and day spent in prison, could not give bail had to abjure the land.‡

While the portion of the Irish Church represented by the English exhibited scenes of scandal, a disedifying scramble for gain among the ecclesiastics and violence and plunder among the laics, the other portions of the country were scarcely in less disorder. The English wished to establish themselves in Connaught, Munster, and Ulster. Bishops who, of all men, should have been pacific and neutral, appeared to have taken no inactive part in the expeditions for conquest.§ They were times during which the Church could not easily proceed in its peaceful mission. The interdict added to the confusion. One passion was met by another equally strong. No

* *Liber Munerum.*—Rymer.

† Rymer.

‡ The reader will be good enough to bear in mind that "abjuring the land" has here the natural signification ; because hereafter I will have to show that the phrase could not mean, as some would have it, "a religious profession."—*Madox*, c. xiv., Rymer, ad an. 1215.

§ Conacians marched to Ballyshannon under the English bisho and Gillibert M'Costello.

principle was worked out to its legitimate consequences, but cut short in its development. Some were founding monasteries; others were destroying them. Some were retiring from the world to a place of retreat and prayer, others were bent on a course of lawless aggrandizement. Sad times they were! They could scarcely be called times of transition. The Irish clergy did what possible, and, indeed, it was very little, to gain advantageous terms for their countrymen.* Every effort was made by them to have union and a concentration of scattered elements against the common foe. But their efforts met often with neglect, if not injury, at the hands of those in their senseless fury for whom they gave themselves so much trouble.† Of course the stranger was not disposed to show much respect either to them or anything which opposed their progress. Hence churches were pulled down; castles erected on the most obnoxious spots,‡ and the rights of sanctuary violated.§

In all ages there were certain consecrated spots which disarmed the anger of a foe. Such places in the Old Law were marked out by the very finger of God.‖ Even in Pagan times there was a sort of sanctuary thrown around the person of a vestal virgin that rescued one doomed to destruction. No wonder, then, the Christian priesthood encouraged

* Notwithstanding the remonstrance of three bishops, Murtagh O'Brien was kept a close prisoner by the English.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

† In making peace between O'Kean and M'Loughlin the Prior of Derry was slain.—*Ibid.*

‡ Ecclesiastical establishments were pulled down by the English in Derry to make way for the erection of the castle of Coleraine. The Bishop of Norwich, despite all opposition, built a castle at Killaloe.

§ Gilla O'Kelly was taken prisoner in St. Peter's, Athlone, and hanged at Trim.

‖ *Numbers*, xxxv.

and Christian emperors sanctioned what had its root in reason and religion*—the right of sanctuary in the Christian Church. What more useful than to restrain impetuosity of feeling! Essentially necessary was it in the youth of nations to stay the arm which was but too frequently raised to strike. There was time given to guilt for repentance, and an opportunity afforded innocence to vindicate itself. The majesty of the law was vindicated, and the wild right of revenge was checked. Impunity, however, was not given to all who touched at a sacred spot. Public debtors, thieves, those guilty of treason and of conspiracy, murderers, ravishers of virgins were excluded from the benefit of sanctuary.† Did the Church protect public debtors, then the Church was bound to satisfy the creditors.‡ The right of sanctuary lasted for thirty days. It prevailed since the middle or end of the fourth century.§ Already we are prepared to see observed in the Irish Church a practice which, generally prevailing through the Universal Church, implied that respect for the ministers of religion for which the Irish have been so remarkable. On that account the oldest canons determine who are to mark out the spot to which the right of sanctuary is attached.‖ Here, however, the termon or sanctuary-grounds had a wide signification. They included not only the right of sanctuary properly so called, but also in a wider sense the lands

* *Cod. Theol.*, lib. ix., tit. 14. *Cod. Just.*, lib. i., tit. 12.

† Just. Novellæ, 17, ch. vii.

‡ Leg., 1, 3, "pro his ipsos qui Eos occultare probantur Episcopos Exigi."

§ Why Bingham should say that according to the Saxon laws the right of sanctuary lasted only for three days, I am at a loss to know. Thirty-seven days were allowed at the shrine of St. Cuthbert.—*Ancient Rites of Durham.*

‖ Three mark out sanctuary-ground—the king, bishop, and people. D'Achery's *Irish Canons*, vol. ix.

belonging to ecclesiastical bodies; on the latter, ecclesiastical tenants only and their property were inviolate. Right of sanctuary, in the strictest acceptation, was limited to more special spots. So scrupulously was this observed in Ireland that the very necessaries of life, under the shadow of the sanctuary, were deemed inviolable. On that account, Cardinal Vivian got leave for the English, about the year 1186, to have the provisions taken away from the sanctuaries into which the Irish, in the simplicity of faith, had stowed them. Not only the sanctity of a place, but even the sacredness of a person ensured sanctuary. Feoris stole a bell from the church of Ballysidare. He put it on his head, in the hope that his connexion with sanctuary, even by sacrilege, would protect him.* In the registry of Palatian, Archbishop of Armagh, reference is made to right of sanctuary.† The clergy made it a matter of complaint "that those who abjured the land, while in the public street and in the king's peace, were molested; and that the guardians of those who took refuge in a church should have remained in the cemetery." They did not complain when there was a necessity on the part of the guardians of remaining in the cemetery, or when there may be danger of the refugee's escape. In the 11th article they insisted that "the refugees should be allowed to confess their sins, and not be molested while proceeding to a confession." Those who were guilty of a crime which deserved punishment at the hands of the law,

* Bermingham was expressed in Irish by "Feoris" or "Peoris," because the principal man of the Berminghams was called Pierse. *Four Masters*, ad. an. 1261.

† The registry refers to the laws passed in the Parliament at Lincoln, in the ninth year of Edward. We are to presume they were applied to Ireland.

by abjuring the land escaped it. The clergy, however, protested against a cleric guilty of felony being obliged to flee the country. This, they maintained, was a violation of ecclesiastical immunity, and indirectly exercised a control over the sacredness of the ecclesiastical character, which ought to be held inviolable. They were met by an answer that, if the cleric submitted to the laws of the land, there would be no necessity for self-banishment. Though we saw that in the legislation of the Christian emperors murderers were excluded from the right of sanctuary, yet such was the respect entertained by the Irish Catholics in the churches marked out and blessed by their ministers, that whoever entered them, no matter of what crime guilty, were not denied the liberty of escape. Numerous facts in proof of this may be adduced. One Hammond, a butcher, claimed sanctuary in the convent of Drogheda. Martin of Termon Fechin, guilty of murder of an Englishman, which was less redeemable than that of an Irishman, claimed sanctuary. A man named Walter and another Walter from Galway abjured the land. A Franciscan, Richard Deblet, John Bale, and Thomas Morison took sanctuary, and free from all arrests, abjured the land."*

John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, died in 1212. Through life he was anxious to do justice to the Irish, and maintain the independence of the Church.

* Archdall draws entirely on the imagination when he asserts that "abjuring the land" meant a religious profession, because the term is applied to those who had already made such a profession. Therefore, it must mean something else. It means a departure from the country, or forfeiture of possessions. Why this very leaving of the country was made a matter of complaint by the clergy, as we saw in the Register of Palatian. In the history of Wayland, in the time of Edward I., we can see an option given of being imprisoned for life or of abjuring the land.

His successor was Henry Loundres, a man who by no means maintained the same high character as his predecessor. He used his influence to prevent King John from coming to terms with the Holy See. He is represented as having urged the same king to grant "Magna Charta." To his credit, he was one of the few who stood by his monarch in the distress which his tyranny brought on him. As a reward for his fidelity to his monarch, he was appointed justiciary.* By-and-by he was appointed legate by the Pope. Just and good as was the grant of Magna Charta, some suspicion attaches to the motive that made Loundres have a part in it, because from his conduct to his own tenants he could not be deemed a friend either to freedom or justice. Having called them together on a fixed day, and obtained their leases, he threw them into the fire; several of his attendants were killed, while himself narrowly escaped without injury. Such conduct merited and obtained for him through life the nick-name of Scorch-villain.†

* Bishops often were chancellors, justiciaries, &c. The justiciary was the first officer in the kingdom; he presided at the council, was regent or viceroy, or chief judge or lieutenant. The treasurer witnessed the writs issued for levying the revenue, and superintended the receipts and issues of the Exchequer.—*Madox*, i., 2. The office of chancellor was in use so early as the seventh century; as the name indicates, he was employed at the rails helping the judge or assessor.—Bingham, B. III., ch. xi., p. 63. In after times he was the keeper of the Great Seal, signed all grants, had care of the royal chapel, the custody of the vacant sees and baronies, and without a summons could sit in the council. The office of chancellor was a step or a certain means to a bishopric; and on that account, to avoid the taint of simony, the office was not purchaseable. The first mention of the Chancery Court occurs in the reign of Edward I. The chancellor did not take a part in judicial proceedings.

† Unfavourable is the contrast which his conduct exhibited to that of the Archbishop of Cashel, Donat O'Lonergan, who raised Cashel to a borough, and gave to it many important privileges.

Henry Loundres has acquired additional notoriety in connexion with the fire in St. Bridget's, in Kildare. For the sake of perpetual vigil, and for purposes of hospitality, a fire was kept burning in St. Bridget's nunnery. The fire or lamp burned day and night. A lively imagination and busy rumour invested the light with something supernatural; it was said to be unquenchable and to leave no ashes. We know that Gerald Barry gravely tells his readers there was an island near Roscrea on which no man died and no woman lived. Now, if he stripped the idea of figurative language, and showed it in a plain dress, he could inform us how the story took its rise; he could tell how religious men on the island were in a state well calculated to bring them to everlasting life, and that women, to whom entrance was forbidden, died a moral death by setting foot on it.* A turn of expression which in one age most forcibly and figuratively embodied a certain idea, came in another to be understood in quite a literal and, therefore, ridiculous sense. In some such way, too, did it fare with the fire in Kildare. On account of something superstitious which misrepresentation threw around it, Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, felt it his duty, in 1220, to visit it. There was nothing in the hospitable or religious light, burning for ages, which the most orthodox could censure.†

In the same year Herlewin, Bishop of Leighlin, gave to his burgesses the free laws of Bristol, and secured to them their holdings. What a stimulus to liberty!

* I am more inclined to interpret thus the tradition given by Gerald Barry, as religious were called "sons of life," in the Irish language, and sinners "sons of death." Nor was figurative language on this subject confined to the Irish. The religious habit was called by the Greeks the angelic dress—*αγγελικον σχημα*.

† One of the last words which the present writer had the melancholy pleasure of hearing, in July, 1862, from the great Brehon scholar, the late Eugene O'Curry, a day or two before his death, was

Whether it was the log piled on the hospitable hearth to warm and cheer the stranger, or a lamp that hung in honour of the Immaculate Virgin, at all events it continued to burn out through ages, down to the Reformation. The latter supposition I deem probable, because in Catholic countries, from devotion to the Virgin, the lamp often swung through the midnight storm, as well over the yawning abyss or dangerous bridge, as before the altar of the sanctuary. Nor are we left to analogy merely in judging of Ireland. That such a religious practice obtained in Ireland is made certain by the entries on the Statute Rolls. In the year 1462, by a decree of Parliament, were granted to the abbot and house of our Blessed Lady at Trim two water-mills, weirs, fisheries, services of the villeins for the repair of the church, and the continuance of a perpetual wax-light from day to day and night to night. It was to burn before the image of Our Lady on the pedestal of her statue in the said house of Trim.*

On the death of King John, Henry, in 1216, succeeded. Of course there was no difficulty in getting a confirmation from the son in his minority of that charter which was wrung from the father in the insolence of power. With some modifications it was applied to Ireland. And though I am not treating of the civil history, I notice the articles that bear only indirectly on ecclesiastical matters. He acknowledged in general terms the freedom of the Irish Church, and sanctioned its privileges. He promised that there should be a careful guardianship of the

in reply to an inquiry as to his opinion about the fire at Kildare. His answer was that in all the ancient MSS. *he* met with, there was not the least allusion to anything of a wonderful or a superstitious nature about it.

* *Original Statute Rolls.*

archbishopries, bishopries, and abbacies during a vacancy. He granted this distinction to be observed between lay and Church property; that the latter should not be sold; that no cleric should be fined unless according to preceding forms and by the judgment of his peers; that the fine should be proportioned to the offence and not to the wealth of the offender; finally, that whoever founded an abbey with custom or with the king's consent in his favour shall have the guardianship of it when vacant.* Perhaps I may mention, as affecting the discipline of the Church and the morality in general, that widows were not to be forced to a marriage.†

These were important acts of concession, or rather restitution to the Irish Church; for they were not greater than were made generally under the native princes.‡ But the facility with which the confirmation of the charter was obtained was a reason why it became partly nugatory; because the boyish monarch could not insist on its execution, and in no place more than in Ireland was a strong hand necessary for keeping in check those lawless barons§ who affected the power and displayed the pomp of independent sovereigns. William, Earl Marshal, seized on two manors, the property of the Bishop of Ferns. No entreaties could prevail on him to restore them. Albin the bishop appealed to the Pope. Redress was

* Leland, Appendix 1.

† It was a confirmation of the great original charter granted by Henry I. That guaranteed that the temporalities of the Church during a vacancy should not be sold or let out to farm.

‡ During times of confusion, especially since the invasion of the Danes, some exceptions appear to the general rule. In the life of St. Malachy we learn that laymen, the descendants of those who founded the abbey of Down, undertook to dispose of it.

§ The possession of 30 ballybetaghs was required for a baron; each ballybetagh contained 120 acres.

promised. Without delay the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and Tighernagh, Bishop of Clogher, were delegated to inquire into the matter. For their interference they, together with the Bishop of Ferns, were attached. The obstinacy of the earl brought on him the sentence of excommunication, and under that sentence he died. Alban was sent for by the king, and ordered to recall the sentence of excommunication against the deceased. Firm in the discharge of duty, whether in reproving the irregularity of the foreign clergy or in maintaining the discipline of the Church against their monarch, the good Bishop of Ferns pronounced a conditional absolution. The condition required a restoration of the Church property by the heirs of the deceased. Without following any precise ritual, the bishop laconically said: "If you restore the manors to the Church, I free your father from the excommunication; if not, not."* Like the Earl Marshal, Meyler Fitzhenry made a nullity of the charter of freedom given to the Church. He attacked Clonmacnoise, and put to the sword all whom he met. Houses were plundered; churches and monasteries rifled; and the sacred vessels and ornaments of the altar were given as booty to a licentious soldiery.† But if such people prove how the

* Harris foolishly sneers at the proceeding as if the fate of the deceased for good or ill could be affected by the removal or non-removal of the censure. He should know, however, that the proceeding was in conformity with the practice of the Early Church. Origen was excommunicated 200 years after death by Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria.—*Socr.* lib. 7, ch. 45. Theodore of Mopsuessa after death was excommunicated by the fifth general council.—*Evagrius*, lib. 4, ch. 38. There was no idea of freeing from mortal sin by removing the sentence of excommunication. Civil effects followed from a continuance of the sentence. One was deprived of Christian burial and the public prayers of the Church, which a Protestant could not understand.

† M'Gheoghan, p. 307.

most beneficent designs of a monarch may be frustrated in such representatives, they no less strikingly exhibit the visible interposition of Providence in avenging the cause of the Church. It is a curious thing and noticed as such by the annalists of the time. that not one of the five sons of the excommunicated earl or of his fourteen brothers left issue. Such sacrilegious plunderers produced imitators occasionally even amongst the natives. In some parts the monastic bodies found it impossible to live in quiet, and so contrived to leave the kingdom.*

If Honorius III. were well informed the Irish Church was in a heathenish state. He issued a bull and addressed it to the Irish bishops. He cautions them against heresy; inveighs against irregularities in the ministers of the altar, whom he compares to beasts wallowing in the filth of sin; he upbraids the prelates with neglect of duty; charges the religious bodies with a disregard of discipline, with not holding chapters regularly; condemned the existence of pluralities; and wound up by inculcating reverence to the Blessed Sacrament.† Writing to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland in November 19, A.D. 1219, Pope Honorius proceeds:—"Whereas in olden times the golden vessels full of manna, a figure of the body of Christ united to His Divinity, had been placed within the *Holy of Holies* in the ark of the covenant shut in with a golden cover, in order that it might be decently preserved in an august place, we feel the

* *Liber Munerum.* It is not quite certain whether those who left the country were natives. They sent, we are told, a brother with the relics of the Patron Saints—Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille—to Henry III., and begged leave to build a convent in some part of England.

† *Bullar. Roman. Coqueline*, vol. ii, p 212.

greatest grief in learning that priests in the provinces disregarding canonical regulations, or rather the divine judgments, not only are careless in *preserving* the Blessed Eucharist, but show a want of neatness and devotion in handling it, when they should fear their Creator, love their Regenerator, and stand in awe of the Universal Judge. And the Apostle in dreadful language denounces heavier punishments against those who trample on the Son of God, pollute the blood of the testament, or insult the Spirit of Grace than against the violators of the Mosaic Law, who deserved death. Therefore, we strictly command all priests to place the Blessed Eucharist respectfully in a clean place specially set apart, and devoutly and jealously guard it for the future, lest through the carelessness of priests the divine anger may be kindled against the indevout."*

Under the year 1218 the annalists make an entry, some of the terms of which have claimed whole treatises from Irish Church historians. It is said, "Mailosa O'Doighre, Erenach of Derry, after having done every possible service to the Church, died." In explanation of the word "Erenach," then, I will endeavour in this paragraph to give the substance of many writings. When Christianity was thoroughly recognised by the State, and the Church endowed with ecclesiastical property, persons employed to farm their property or collect the revenue of ecclesiastics were called "Erenachs." It was not necessary that the "Erenach" should be in holy orders; the most required was that he should have gone, not to holy orders but through a preparation for orders—"the first tonsure." While there is considerable difference

* *Bullarium Rom.*, tom. iii., p. 336, Ed. Taurin, an. 1858.

on the orign of the word "Erenach,"* there is a perfect agreement as to the obligations which it imposed. Sometimes, indeed, the Erenach was in holy orders—and this took place when the rector undertook to farm his own revenues—but in general the Erenach was not in holy orders:† even a female might be an Erenach.‡ Whatever revenues accrued to religious bodies from temporalities or from tithes were made over to the Erenach on condition of paying a certain sum. In order that the ministers of religion may not have been distracted from their spiritual functions, the Erenach was called in to farm the temporalities. He was lay impropriator. The consent of the bishops in the beginning was necessary to the installation of the Erenach. Hence the bishop on his accession got a fine or rent from the Erenach. The Erenach on the marriage of any of his daughters paid a certain sum to the bishop, and besides made a weekly commemoration for the soul of the founder. An inquisition, taken in 1607, gives the opinion then entertained on the origin and nature of Erenachs. Twelve men on oath declared that, so early as the seventh century, Donell Hugh O'Neill granted lands free from all exactions and one-third of the tithes to certain religious, the other two-thirds to the rector; and that Erenachs and Comorbans were appointed to take care of these lands, and that they should bear one-third of the

* Cormac in his Glossary, giving it a Greek derivation, traces it to the word "Archidiaconus." Colgan gives it an Irish derivation, ᵃᵢᵣ cíon, that is, one in authority. O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad. an. 1213, denies it to be derived from the word archdeacon. The ᵃᵢᵣċᵢᵢnṅeċ, or archdeacon, he says, was different from ᵃᵢᵣċᵢnneċ "Erenach."

† Lord Gormanstown inquired what was meant by Erenach, and the Bishop of Derry answered that it meant a lay archdeacon. —Inquisition, 1640. *Liber Munerum.*

‡ Bevin, daughter of M'Conchaille, was Erenach of Derry.

expenses incident to the repairs of churches; and by-and-by, when bishops were established,* that they claimed a portion of what was within their diocese, that, however, the Erenachs could not be removed by temporal or spiritual lords; that all termon lands were Erenach, and had privileges of sanctuary;† but that Erenach lands were not always termon lands; and that such a state of things continued substantially in Cavan, Enniskillen, and Donegal to the seventeenth century.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries circumstances bear out with some modification the above statement. In the year 1365 Milo, Archbishop of Armagh, addresses his subjects, and tells them that, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of Armagh, he gave and confirmed to his children in Christ, William and Arthur M'Byrne, the lands of Teachran, &c., to be held according to their ancient boundaries with full right of Erenach to the Church of Kilmore; and that they were not to give these lands to any extern laic to be cultivated. The said William and Arthur were to pay annually a mark and eight pence sterling.‡ This state of things is not

* We cannot avoid suspecting a Presbyterian bias to have influenced the declaration in the text. It is untrue to say that generally the endowment of the Church with temporal property preceded the appointment of bishops; because bishops in great numbers were consecrated in St. Patrick's time; whereas the declaration in the inquisition goes to say the contrary. Of course there may have been some district or church that became a cathedral or the bishop's immediate mensal property in rather late ages; but in no sense could it be said that the Irish Church existed with or without property in the absence of an episcopal body.

† Termon lands generally were the ecclesiastical lands; and to the property on them and to the tenants immunities were extended. But the right of sanctuary properly so called was not extended to ecclesiastical lands.

‡ *Swayn's Register.*

peculiar to Ireland.* But as the office of Chorepiscopus continued longer in Ireland than in other countries, so too did the office of Erenach.

On a correlative word to Erenach there has been some confusion; I allude to the word "Comorban."† It was a term applied to the successor of a bishop or abbot. To him belonged the cathedral church, the tithes, and temporalities. He ruled the people or the community; had the first stall in the choir; and originally was in holy orders. In after times lay usurpers, of course without orders, were called Comorbans, because they succeeded to the temporalities enjoyed by the bishop or abbot. When a chief or prince founded a religious house or procured the consecration of a bishop for a certain church, he richly endowed the house or cathedral and gave the lands free from tribute. Such was the case in the instance already mentioned of Hugh O'Neill in the seventh century. He made over on the Church the lands with the tenants and slaves;‡ the former of whom paid rent, the latter gave services. In process of time, influenced by avarice or irreligion, the descendants of the

* I am at a loss to know on what grounds Sir John Davis says the Erenach was peculiar to Ireland. Gerald Barry, in his Itinerary of Wales, assures us that the Erenach was common to that country. Besides, Spelman in his Glossary says: "Sic enim hæreditarium in Hibernia fit munus Herenach non minus quam in partibus panormarini Vicedomini." A capitulary of Charlemagne in the year 805 prohibits the farming of the archdeaconry as a fee. —See Ducange, sub-voce Vicedominus.

† Com (with), ꝼoꞃbꞩ (land), that is, a participation in possession. Colgan, Appendix 5th to St. Bridget's Life, p. 631.

‡ See such grants by Henry II. and by the Archbishop of Dublin, in Usher on *Corbes*, who quotes an old canon in the Cottonian Library. The canon empowered a bishop to bequeath the price of a female slave, in lands or money. From the grants of Archbishop Walton in 1473, we can infer the existence of villeinage in Ireland to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

pious and munificent founders seized on the donations of their ancestors. Services of a spiritual kind were attached to these possessons. Sometimes the comorban in the usurping family was consecrated; and thus was fit to fulfil the conditions on which the pious donations were made. Very often the comorban, being a mere layman, got a minister for a mere trifle to discharge the spiritual functions necessarily annexed to the temporalities. Together with the temporalities he often kept the tithes. No church perhaps in Ireland was cursed with such a long line of usurpers of ecclesiastical property as the See of Armagh.* For two hundred years it continued unbroken. The comorbans claimed the title of successors to the founders of churches, whether abbots or bishops. They bore the same relation to the whole diocese that the Erenach did to particular districts in that diocese.

* Some of the usurping family were consecrated, others were married: they arrogated to themselves the title of successors to St. Patrick.

CHAPTER XIII.

Several disputes in regard to the episcopal successions have appeared up to this, and still more shall turn up in the course of this history. In order, then, to appreciate such facts, we will consider the several parties who had a voice in ecclesiastical elections. If this were clearly kept in view, there would not have been so much doubt and contradiction as to the series of ecclesiastical successions.

A benefice or bishopric being a something spiritual instituted primarily for the cure of souls, all jurisdiction for it flowed directly or indirectly from the chief pastor, the Pope. But as to the spiritual charges were annexed temporalities by the pious Christian princes or nobles, these claimed, and generally received, a voice in the appointment to the charge.

While the division into the spiritual and temporal is simple enough, the spiritual admitted of several subdivisions. Canon Law made by or with the sanction of Popes, elaborated the system of chapters, which were to regulate ecclesiastical elections. On the death of a bishop, the cathedral chapter met and proceeded to an election. The Pope, whose jurisdiction was partially shared by all parties concerned in the election, sometimes reserved the ratification of the election to himself, and sometimes devolved the duty on the metropolitan or senior suffragan.

The consent of the Pope, the metropolitan, the chapter, and the king was required for an election. The consent of the king, who endowed or confirmed endowments to the bishopries, was

required for the *quiet* possession of the temporalities.* Custom or law gave him a voice in the matter; but an appointment by the Pope without his consent would have been valid as regarded the spiritual jurisdiction.

Though the Pope devolved in the beginning his right as regarded elections on others, yet, by-and-by, owing to the misunderstanding between the other parties, if for no other reason, he was called on to exercise the right he had transferred to others. Counter statements were made by rival candidates; the chapter was often perplexed and irreconcilably divided; here were difficulties sometimes in determining who formed the chapter; a doubt arose as to who was metropolitan—all this from time to time called for the interference of the Supreme Pontiff, and led to his resumption of the exercise of a right which he had often and for long delegated to others. By keeping these principles in view, the nature of disputes in the course of events will be the more easily understood; and the events of this historical narrative shall in turn illustrate and confirm such principles.

As regards the confirmation of the election, it is certain that not only Armagh and Dublin, but Cashel and Tuam, received the right of confirmation before the Anglo-Norman invasion. If there were question of filling the Metropolitical See, the bishops of the province gave confirmation; if of appointing

* "The prioress and nuns of Kilkilhyn, in the diocese of Ossory, notified to the king the vacancy of their church by the resignation of Mabilia de Curcy, late abbess thereof, and prayed for licence to elect a successor. The king of special grace now grants power to the justiciary on elections made to give the royal assent in lieu of the king, signify to the diocesan, and if the election be confirmed, to take fealty from the elect, and restore the temporalities." Pat. 10, Ed. 1, m. 6.

simply a bishop, the metropolitan gave confirmation to the election.*

Accordingly, Innocent III., writing in reference to the See of Cashel, directs, "that on the death of the bishop the ring and crosier should be deposited in the cathedral church, and that the Archbishop of Cashel should be elected as heretofore by the suffragans and by the majority of the chapter."†

The metropolitan confirmed the bishop elect. The archbishop or bishop, in some instances, claimed the right of instituting an elected abbot or prior.

The right of confirmation was exercised not only by the archbishop, but even by his official. Hence it happened that one sometimes gave confirmation to one, and the other to a different person; and thus two rivals sometimes were created by the archbishop and his official.

That the veto, or *conge d'elire*, exercised by the king in the election of bishops, was a concession made by the Holy See must appear from the following document:—

"As to the bishoprics in Ulster subject to Armagh, as Clogher, Derry, Raphoe, and Kilmore, the king never had custody by the death of bishops as he has in other bishoprics subject to Armagh, as well as in all others of Ireland; nor had the king ever any custody in them, *nor was license to elect ever demanded.*

"But the Archbishop of Armagh appropriates to himself vacancies and demands of licences, and appoints bishops therein, against the kingly dignity, to the great loss of the king, and against his liberties, as is said. Because it is conceded to the kings of England *by the Apostolic See* that the Church of

* See App. FF. † *Regesta* 13, Ep. 48.

Ireland should be regulated and subjected to the kingly dignity in the aforesaid as is the Church of England.

"There is in Ulster a bishopric, Dromore, subject to Armagh, whereof the king had custody by John de Saunford, his escheator, after the death of a bishop of that place. . . . The king was expelled from this custody, and the Archbishop of Armagh, without the king, conferred temporalities on Thiermath, now Bishop of Dromore.* A writ is levied against Armagh touching this bishopric. Some say that the escheator can never go to the bishoprics aforesaid on account of the Irish, and thus these bishoprics are more easily passed over.

"It would be expedient to the king that no Irishman should be an archbishop or a bishop, because they always preach against the king, and always provide their churches with Irishmen, so that an election of bishops might be made from amongst Irishmen to maintain their langnage, and not from amongst others.† In like manner, the Dominicans and Franciscans make much of that language."

In the year 1202, Pope Innocent III. wrote to the clergy of the cathedral churches in Connaught not to neglect applying for the sanction of the king to their election of a bishop. At the same time he wrote to the king requesting him not to abuse this privilege; and from this we can see that the voice of the monarch was listened to as a privilege in the election of a bishop. That the freedom of elections was interfered with, however, is only too certain. Of this Pope Innocent assured himself, and accordingly complained in the year 1216. He wrote to the king,

* Thigernagh was his name.

† *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, by Sweetman.

and required he would allow the election of bishops and abbots to be proceeded with in accordance with synodal canons. This interference with ecclesiastical elections arose, not only from the pride of power, but also from a love of wealth; because, during the vacancy of the sees, the king turned to his own use the revenues of the see. Thus, in the year 1253, Innocent IV. wrote to the King of England, and, apprising him of the election of a bishop, expressed a hope that he would protect the Church, and cause the temporalities to be assigned to the elect, as their guardianship, during the vacancy of the see, "was said by old custom to belong to you."* Whatever the king could claim by virtue of a written agreement or any legitimate† custom or privilege was granted him; but custom and privilege were abused from time to time.‡ Thus, in the year 1237, Pope Gregory IX. had to write to the legate to use his good offices with the king that he would consent to the election made of the Bishop of Killaloe to the Archiepiscopal See of Cashel by its Dean and Chapter. They had not, indeed, got the king's consent for the election, but this happened from no fault of

* Theiner, ad. an. *Veter. Monum.*

† The following is a specimen of the oath of fealty to be taken as well by priors as abbesses:—I, Brother John, of Derlington, of the Dominican Order, whom the Pope has appointed to the Church of Dublin, swear on the Holy Gospels that I will bear good fealty to Edward, King of England, and his heirs, of life, limb, and earthly honour, against all people; and that I will faithfully render due and customary service for the temporalities of the said archbishopric."—*Calendar of Documents*, April 27, 1279.

‡ Innocent III., writing in the year 1201, says: Universis Clericis Cathedralium Ecclesiarum Regni Conactiæ, quod regium assensum in suis electionibus intervenire non recusent." Ep. 226.

In writing to the King of Connaught, he says: "Quod hujusmodi *gratia* sibi concessa nullatenus abutatur."—Ep. 227.

Again, writing in the year 1216, he says: "Quod electiones Episcoporum et Abbatum a clericis facere permittat."—Ep. 138.

theirs. Owing to the troubled state of the country, they were not able to go to the justiciary, the king's representative, and so they wrote frequently, but without effect, for the licence for election.*

The election of a bishop was confined generally to the chapter of a cathedral church. There was, however, an exception in the case of Dublin. That anomaly showed itself from the very coming of the Anglo-Normans, if not before that time. Even so early as the visit of Cardinal Paparo, in 1152, some arrangement would appear to have been made by him in regard to Christ Church and that of the Blessed Trinity; and this arrangement was subsequently confirmed by Pope Innocent III. in the year 1216. Both churches claimed a right to the election of the Archbishop of Dublin. In the year 1276, there was a misunderstanding, and, as a result, the diocese of Leighlin was kept vacant, and in consequence the Dean and Chapter wrote to Pope John XXI., that the Canons of Christ Church and Holy Trinity could not understand each other, as these had the right of confirming the suffragan bishops in the absence of the archbishop.

In the year 1279, Nicholas III. decreed that, on the event of a vacancy in Dublin, the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity should summon the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, giving sufficient notice that all who had a right might attend in the Church of Holy Trinity, and have the election take place there. This was not definitive, but to prevent loss to the churches; nor was it a bar to any right that might be established in future. The discussion had, as he remarked, led already to a great deal of troublesome suits.

* See Theiner, ad. an.

Each claimed the right of, or styled itself, a cathedral church. The Pope says that as I. (John Comyn) died, the chapters of both churches met and elected H. (Archdeacon of Stafford), who was accordingly confirmed by the Pope, Innocent III., owing to the statements of both and of some suffragans.*

Afterwards, as the dispute revived, Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, to whose decision they submitted, is said to have ordained, under a certain penalty, that, on the vacancy of the see, the prior and brethren, the dean, with the chapter, should meet in the Church of Holy Trinity, and proceed to an election. On the next vacancy, the prior, with the representatives of the convent, with the dean and chapter, having met on an appointed day, elected Ralph of Norwich, a canon of St. Patrick's; and having apprised the Holy See of the election by official messengers, requested confirmation of Pope Alexander; but he, on finding the election uncanonical, quashed it, and appointed Fulk of Sandford, then treasurer of St. Paul's, London.

Pope Alexander, in recommending him to the convent and chapter, declared the election of an archbishop to belong to the prior and convent together with the dean and chapter.

Lately, on the vacancy of the see, the Prior and Convent asked leave of the king, as was said to have been customary, of electing in common, and got the required leave, and, as was established before the Holy See on an inquiry being made in regard to these statements, they were to act in like manner,

* From this I infer that they stated there had been an immemorial custom that both should elect, and as we know that the Pope confirmed what was done by Cardinal Paparo in regard to the Metropolitan Church, it must have referred, in all probability, to the election.

one alternately writing to the other party; but because this has not been satisfactorily proved before us in every particular, we make no definitive decree on the matter." On the death of Fulk, however, the dispute was renewed. The consequence was that the Bishop of Clonfert was commissioned to cite the Prior and Convent, the Dean and Chapter, to appear with all their witnesses, within four months after citation, before the Apostolic See, either personally or by procurators.*

In the year 1285, it would appear they had the power of electing in common, as Honorius IV. says: "When John of Sandford was elected, as if by inspiration, he and the procurators asked confirmation of Martin IV.; and, as some difficulties were raised, to prevent the see from being vacant, you resigned your right into the hands of the Roman Pontiff. We, knowing the long and dangerous distance Dublin is from Rome, and the trouble and expense incurred on the occasion of coming to Rome, gave facilities to you and five other canons of the churches of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick, to elect an archbishop for this time only by way of scrutiny.† We find that yo voted for John of Nottingham, Canon of St. Patrick, and that the five, of whom John of Nottingham was one, voted for you. He voted in his own name and that of others for you, and we, deeming it canonical, confirm your election." The Pope then goes on to say that four represented the Church of St. Patrick, and two only that of the Holy Trinity; he did not intend to injure by that decision the rights of the chapter, or derogate from the arrange-

* Theiner's *Vet. Monumenta.*

† Three persons were appointed to receive the votes privately, the result of which was to be made known by-and-by.

ments of Nicholas III., as they, both parties, had in common the right of electing, as was said.*

Even when the mode of election was canonical and intelligible, sometimes confusion was the result of the election; and so the way was paved after appointment on the part of the Pope by *provision*.

There was an Order of Premonstre established in Logh Ke. Though all the chapter postulated for Malachy, the Dean went apart from the appointed place, and chose the Abbot Charles, and had him consecrated by Reginald, official and representative of the Archbishop of Armagh.† Again, in 1456, letters were annulled in favour of Thomas, because they falsely asserted that John, Bishop of Limerick, had been dead. The assertion was made by several at the instigation of Thomas.‡

Though the appointment of a pope with primacy of jurisdiction were not of divine institution, still it would have been necessary to make one for the preservation and order of the Irish Church.

The interference of the Pope was necessary for the preservation of the Irish Church, if for no other reason than in deciding the controversies that arose in regard as well to disputed successions as to the province to which some sees were to be attached.

Pope Alexander III., about the year 1170, wrote to the Archbishop of Armagh and Cashel in reference to the See of Ross:—"Formerly a cleric, having presented letters to his predecessor, Celestine, asserted,

* Theiner's *Vet. Mon.*, ad. 1279.

† The Chapter appointed Malachy; the Dean (Solomon) recommended the Abbot Charles, of Holy Trinity.

‡ By-and-by he got a benefice to live on till he should succeed to the see peaceably, which, in 1457, he was allowed to hold in *commendam*, with or without the cure of souls, as long as he lived, or till he should possess the see which he stated he could not occupy owing to untoward events and *turbines guerrarum*.

and the assertion purported to be substantiated by several prelates, that he was elected Bishop of Ross, and that he directed that D. should be consecrated. Afterwards F. and G., two monks, came to him, each asserting that himself was elected by the canons as bishop, and that the forementioned D. had been consecrated on the strength of forged letters; and then Celestine commissioned you to inquire, and if the election of D. was found to be canonical, that he should be kept undisturbed in possession of the see; otherwise to decide between F. and G., and whichever of them was found canonically elected to have him confirmed by you the Archbishop of Cashel. But since the said D., on being thrice cited, was unwilling to appear, taking action on the testimony of the clergy and people of Ross, as well as of the King of Cork* and prelates of the province, you ascertained that F. was elected, and had him confirmed by authority of the Apostolic See, as the chapter of Ross asserted that they did not elect R., nor so much as think of electing the monk G.†

"In the meantime, D. came to the Apostolic See, complaining of injuries sustained at the hands of F and others, and presented letters to us from you, which contained an account of the process of your commission. Lest, therefore, as it said our predecessor was overreached by letters of D., we also may be deceived by your letters from the same monk, wishing to act mercifully to the absent, that his malice might be fully brought home to him, we

* Regis Coarcayæ, Coarchiæ, Coarchaiæ. There are various readings.

† It is curious how perfectly of accord is the account of this matter by Harris, from domestic documents, with that (*Veter. Monum.*) from the Roman archives. I had to remark on a previous occasion that the national monuments bear out Roman documents on Irish history.

deemed it fit to send back said F. to you, and commission you, notwithstanding his confirmation, that you would cite legitimately D. if he can be found in Ireland, and give him an opportunity of defending himself, and proceed canonically. If, when found, he refuses to appear before you within three months, then proceed to consecrate F. absolutely.

"But, if not found in Ireland, wait for a year, since he is understood, if not verbally at least actually, to have appealed to us, by having journeyed to the Apostolic See; in the meantime, commit the charge of the diocese to F., and, at the expiration of the year, consecrate him."*

In the year 1237, the Archbishop of Armagh complains that the Archbishop of Tuam has and had some possessions of Armagh, and complained of his having consecrated a monk, N., then prior of Mellifont, for the Church of Clogher, to the prejudice of his own authority, and said monk having been elected only by some married clerics and one canon regular wearing the secular habit, and had him thrust in by lay interference.

The archdiocese of Cashel, too, in the year 1210, claims the Apostolic intervention in regard to a disputed succession. We learn from the letters of Pope Innocent III. that, on the vacancy of the See of Emly, as Canon G. of Emly stated, "the canons had elected him; and, not being in holy orders, the Archbishop of Cashel commissioned the Bishop of Ross to give three sacred orders on one day, which was accordingly done. The Bishop of Ross acted wrongly, as he acknowledged he got no such commission from the archbishop, and, even though commissioned, he should not have done so, and, finally, sinned by swearing that he was

* *Decret.* Greg. IX., Liber II., Part II., tit. xiii. and xiv. *Epist. Innoc.*, p. 284. *Vid.* App. F. F.

commissioned; therefore, we suspend him, the Bishop of Ross, during our pleasure."*

In the year 1479, Pope Sixtus IV., in writing in favour of the Bishop of Ardfert against some nobles of his diocese who rebelled, and abetted another, probably a Mr. Prigg, says some curious things:— "That some sons and daughters of iniquity gave trouble to the bishop, as he was doing everything for the glory of God, James, Count of Desmond; Thady, Prince of Desmond; and Donald, his brother; Thomas Fitzmorris, Captain of the Fitzmorrisses, with his sons, Edmund, Robert, John, and Thomas; John O'Cormachin, Captain of the Chormacins, and Cornelius, his son; also John Geraldine, Knight of Kerry, and Maurice and Nicholas Geraldine; also Richard, Edmund, and Gerard; also James, sons of the said John Geraldine; and David MacNicsayn Geraldine; and John de Mura and John his son; and Odo O'Charin and Richard his son; and Thady O'Donohoe; also O'Chayn, Captain of the O'Chaynes, and Anora, the wife of Thady, and Morina of Donald of Desmond, and Anora, the wife of Thomas, and Johanna of John O'Chonuchayn, and Helen, wife of John Geraldine, and Johanna of Maurice, Ellen of David, Ellen of John de Mura; also Ellen, wife of Odo, as well as the brothers and sons of all these and their adherents and followers have seized on the revenues of the bishopric; now all these, whether named or unnamed, of whatever rank, archiepiscopal, ducal, &c., incur censures thirty days after the knowledge of the sentence comes to them. Ten days being equivalent to each warning, whoever shall directly, or indirectly favour or help them, or interfere with the bishop, or any deputed by him,

* *Vid* Ap. F. F.

these none can absolve unless at the hour of death save the Pontiff or the bishop, and that wherever they go or remain for three days the places or castles are subjected to an interdict, and all are deprived of dignity, benefice, &c., and are unable to receive any other. After four days in that state they show themselves hardened; and if they continue four days more, they prove themselves really so; and the Chapter of Ardfert will accordingly, every Sunday after Mass and Vespers, light candles, and then fling them on the ground, and extinguish them, and go through other ceremonies which accompany the hardened and re-hardened, even the erection of the banner of the cross, the threefold flinging of the stones, and by name excommunicate and anathematize them, so that they may turn to the Church. We require the Archbishop of Cashel, John, and the Bishop of Killaloe, Limerick, Lismore, and Waterford, Cloyne, Emily, and Cork, ecclesiastics, secular, as well as regular, princes and officials to help Philip. All prelates are ordered, under pain of censure, to publish this, and have the Bishop of Ardfert affix it to some church in the city."

As has been remarked, if there had been no Pope, it would be necessary for well-ordered Christendom to create one. Owing to the distance of Ireland from Rome, and the difficulty of communication, difficulties arose in regard to right and facts orginated by chapters or their metropolitans, by the king or his viceroys. But the most serious trouble came from the latter.* Had the king confined his objection to

* 1227, May 21.—The king grants leave during pleasure, in consequence of the poverty of the clergy, that the justiciary may give free leave to the proper parties to elect in place of the king to all vacant sees, save the following:—Kildare, Ossory, Leighlin, Ferns, Meath, Emly, Limerick, Killaloe, Cork, Waterford, and Lismore.—Sweetman's *Calendar of State Papers.*

1243, October 28.—The king commands M. Fitzgerald, justiciary,

the moral qualities of the candidate or elected, then indeed his objection was intelligible; but an Irish origin was sometimes deemed a sufficient bar to promotion.*

Here it is the duty of the historian to notice facts which have a painful interest, but which at the same time explode a bold calumny lately forged, that the Popes helped to annihilate the native priesthood. Very early in the thirteenth century the English monarchs excluded the Irish ecclesiastics from benefices in their own Church. And if the Irish bishops were not able, they were willing to check such an uncanonical encroachment. Among these none comes more prominently before us than the Archbishop of Cashel; he appears a model of suffering for justice-sake and for the liberties of the Church. We saw that he had to spend several years in banishment in a foreign land for the rights of the Church of Cashel, and all that he had to fear in the case of the disputed succession to Killaloe, from the anger and power of the justiciary. But now it was not the servant but the lord he had to confront. The Pope, in 1224, in reply to the archbishop's letter, commissioned his

not to interfere if D., Archbishop of Cashel, should sue H. of Limerick, G. of Lismore, D. of Killaloe, B. of Ardfert, C. of Emly, the archbishop's suffragans, touching the spiritualities of the sees, but not to permit the archbishop to disturb the bishops regarding their lands and temporal matters belonging to the king's crown. Close, 27, Henry III., p. 1, m. 2.

* In October 20, 1283, the king writes to the Pope, and complains that "a criminal and illegitimate clerk named Nicholas Maglyn, who draws his origin from the race of traitors against the king, has adhered to rebels, and raised disturbances in the country, has been, it is said, elected to rule that church. By ancient and approved custom license to elect, and in elections made, the royal assent ought to have been asked for, but this has not been done to the prejudice and contempt of the king's dignity and honour." *Royal Letters*, No. 2,046, Sweetman's *Calendar*.

chaplain and legate, James, to insist on the abolition of the abuses complained of. His Holiness characterized it as the extreme of unheard hardihood on the part of the English to exclude Irish, no matter how learned or how virtuous, from all ecclesiastical dignities. And lest he might be a partaker of the wickedness by not checking it, he declared the obnoxious anti-Irish and anti-Catholic statute null and void.

Nor was it merely for the liberties of the Church the Archbishop of Cashel did battle. He stood out the champion of civil liberty; he addressed a letter to the Pope and invoked his aid. In that letter he complained that if an Englishman lost any property, and swore that an Irishman had stolen it, and found six Englishmen to confirm that oath, under such circumstances the poor Irishman had to indemnify him for the loss. It did not matter that the accused was innocent, that he bore the most irreproachable character, that thirty unexceptionable witnesses were produced to prove an *alibi* or the innocence of the accused. It was of no use; they were guilty in the eyes of the law. Change the scene. Let an Irishman, the archbishop continued, lose property, and be quite certain of its being stolen by an Englishman, and able to establish the fact by the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses, a few English witnesses have only to come forward and can prevent restitution of the stolen property. Justice is trampled on in both cases. Thus injury is inflicted on the Church and "its children." To the credit of the Pope, he at once wrote to the powerful, unconscionable monarch. He ordered the wicked customs to be abolished. As the use of two weights and measures was abominable in the sight of the Lord, he ordered the legate to see to the abolition of the wicked practices, and "*check the violence of Englishmen.*"

The king and his lawless minions did not confine their attacks against the civil rights of individuals. Ecclesiastical privileges were trenched on. The king ordered the new town of Cashel to be seized by Marisco. The Church lands were seized and occupied by the barons through the greater part of Munster, and the tenants of those parts which formed an exception were dragged before secular tribunals. These lands, the archbishop's complaint stated, and the privileges enjoyed by the tenants on them were not given by the king. The king's bailiff seized by violence Church possessions, and subjected them to an annual tax; this happened especially in cases of minority. The lands were usurped till the minor came to man's estate. And what throws a most curious light on the customs of the time, we learn that four persons were empowered to chose twelve men. The twelve chosen by others on oath were to act as judges;* their decision was law, unless reversed by that of twenty-four others on oath. The king, of course, had a reply in readiness to these charges. He justified himself on most of these matters on the plea of political necessity. With regard to temporal property, he asserted that it was lay and not ecclesiastical; that with regard to judicial tribunals, when a question was between the lord and his vassal, it was competent with the plaintiff to

* I am not aware that this modification of the panel has been noticed by any constitutional writer.

"Qui jurat super librum tria facit. Primo, quasi diceret omnia quæ scripta sunt nunquam mihi proficeant. 2nd, opponit manum super librum quasi diceret omnia bona opera feci, nunquam proficeant, etc., quando per manus significantur opera. 3rd, Osculatur librum quasi diceret nunquam orationes neque preces dixi per os meum mihi ad salutem animæ valeant si falsitatem dicam in hoc juramento mihi apposito." *Red Book of the Exchequer*, xxii., Preface by Mr. Gilbert, to the *Mun. and Hist. Records.*

draw the defendant before a tribunal of his choice; that in reference to the guardianship of the property of the deceased the king always enjoyed a special privilege, and that the king enjoys the property of an heir holding a fief from him, though said heir may chance to be a vassal of another, whether laic or ecclesiastic. This explanation was artful, and changed the impressions of the Pope. And so he wrote to the archbishop, and charged him with giving an unfair because one-sided statement of facts.

Before long, however, the Roman Pontiff had reason to set down art and misrepresentation to the account of the English sovereigns. In the year 1252, the Pope insisted that the wicked custom* of disregarding the oath of thirty honest men should be abolished. Again, in 1264, Pope Urban wrote to the clergy of Ireland: "We heard with surprise," wrote the Pontiff, "and relate with sorrow, that some of you take pleasure in trampling by all unheard-of means on that liberty which it ought to be your study to promote, and unjustly depress others. You presume to drag each other before secular tribunals, and turn away from the ecclesiastical courts in reference to tithes, wills, and other matters which belong to the latter. And if at any time a case is brought by any of you of an ecclesiastical nature, before a representative of the Holy See or the ordinary, some of you procure a royal inhibition against any further proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. Thus the plaintiff is obliged either to forego his right or have recourse to an improper tribunal. Abuses have now reached such a height that it is the duty of the Apostolic See to prevent them. We therefore inhibit," &c. The letter was addressed to the archbishops, bishops, deans, abbots, arch-

* "Iniquas consuetudines."

deacons, rectors, and other clergymen of the Irish Church. From this it would appear that the ecclesiastics not only were submissive to the tyranny exercised against their privileges as a body, but made themselves agents in it by a wilful direct co-operation. But such a state of things did not come about without a warning voice being raised by the archbishop at home and the Supreme Pontiff in Rome. In reply to the complaint made by the archbishop so early as 1231, Gregory, the then Pope, writes: "We have learned from your letters that you and your subjects are often unwillingly dragged before lay tribunals in violation of ecclesiastical immunities; to prevent such an abuse by these presents we strictly forbid any person from answering at his peril a summons before a secular tribunal." Salutary and decisive as this warning may appear it did not produce the intended result.

The only substantial practical novelty introduced at the Synod of Cashel, affecting the discipline of the Irish Church, was the system of tithes Full fifty years had gone by and there was no successful effort made by the secular power to establish them. The English settlers may have continued to their clergy in Ireland the same support which they had been in the habit of receiving in England. It is likely that in some parts of the three provinces, Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, the tithe system was introduced; and not unlikely that the Irish in these places, not wishing to be outdone in generosity to the clergy by the strangers, paid tithes likewise. But before the present time tithes were not generally paid or legalized in any place. In 1214, indeed, Innocent III. addressed a bull to Henry Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, on the obligation of tithes. Addressing the archbishop, he says:

"You have intimated to me that most people, backed by laical power, refuse paying tithes of fruits, of the fodder for animals, of milk, and of labour;* that others pay not in the cathedral churches unless to those whom they like best and as much as they please.† On which account, in compliance with a request you humbly made to us, we order the payment of tithes. Let no person then dare to violate this our regulation, lest he incur the displeasure of God and of St. Peter."‡ From this document we can see that even in Dublin, the stronghold of English power, there was a difficulty to get the tithe system established. Indeed, tithes to some extent would appear to have been given. But in the year 1224, we are told that the tithes were legally gathered.§ Of course they had the support of the secular arm. We do not hear that their introduction met with much, if any, opposition. The tithe system naturally must have been acceptable to the clergy; it must have been anxiously desired by the English clergy; for, unless impelled by the purest zeal, they must have been rather disappointed in coming to livings which did not include tithes as a source of revenue. Nor is it improbable that the native clergy hailed with pleasure their legal institution, because in the confusion of the times, in the changing of property from one hand to another, they must have found the means of subsistence precarious. At the same time the clergy—I mean the native clergy,

* At the fourth General Council of Lateran it was decreed that in paying tithes there should be no deduction for the expenses of seed and tilling.—Canon LIV. Cabbassutius, *Not. Eccl.* 440.

† This was the sort of tithe system which prevailed in the early Irish Church, as we learn from old canons quoted by D'Achery.

‡ Alan's *Registry*, T.C.D.

§ *Annals of the Four Masters.*

secular and religious—acted for ages in such a way as to leave no doubt that they would risk tithes, and all the advantages which the stranger could offer them, for the cause of national independence. The English clergy, with Loundres at their head, demanded, the Pope sanctioned and ordered, and the secular power enforced the payment of tithes. The exemption given to the Archbishop of Dublin, in 1260, gives us an idea of what paid tithing. He and his successors were exempted "from paying tithes from what was cultivated at their own expense on the archiepiscopal lands or from the fodder of animals."

But if the king had a large share in their institution in Ireland, it is very hard to believe that he was influenced by a love for the respectability and independence of the Church; because we see, notwithstanding the charter which he confirmed on ascending the throne, that he tampered with the freedom of ecclesiastical elections; and even in the second year after coming to the throne, on a case litigated between the Bishop of Ferns and Earl Marshal, he allowed the spiritual courts which entertained an appeal on the matter to be attacked. It was the interest of the king that the tithe system would prevail; because thereby he calculated on more easily getting money than if it remained in the hands of laics. To my mind an application was not made to the clergy more than once, in the year 1204, by King John. On that occasion he made it as a request. Now, however, an application was made in the tone of a demand for the fifteenth of all religious and cathedral churches, and a sixteenth of all their ecclesiastical property.* This grant may have been either to

* Leland, B. II., ch. i.

extricate him from the embarrassment in which the wars of the two last monarchs left him, or to defray the expenses of a pretended expedition to the Holy Land. At all events, on several occasions during the century, money was obtained for the latter purpose.

CHAPTER XIV.

The substance of the charter confirmed by the king was to the following effect:—

Henry III. granted by charter for himself and heirs that "the Irish Church should be free, and have its own rights intact. . . . But let the guardian, so long as he may have the keeping of land, preserve in good condition the houses, parks, &c., and let him render to the heir, when he shall have come to full age, the whole of his land, put in good condition, in respect to carriages and all other things, at least according to what he received them. Let all these same things be observed in regard to the guardianship of bishopries and abbeys, &c., except that custodies of this kind ought not to be sold. . . .

"Let no clergyman be amerced except according to the form of the aforesaid (by their peers), and not according to the size of their ecclesiastical benefice. . . .

"Let all men who have founded abbeys whence they have charters of the kings of England or ancient tenure, have charge of them when vacant, as they ought to have, and as was before declared.

"If anyone holds of us by a form of fief or socage or burghage, &c., we will have not custody of that farm of fief, &c. unless that fief-farm owes military service.*

* *Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, p. 95, an. 1172-1320.

"Given first year of our reign (Henry III.), November 12th."

This charter, wrung from King John, was confirmed by his son Henry.

One might expect fair play then for the Church, the more so as it was owing to the interest taken by Pope Honorius in him, and to the prudence of the legate, that he ever weathered the storm which threatened his minority.* The Pope had written to the Archbishop of Dublin, ordering him to excommunicate all who kept castles in their hands for overawing the king's power.† And yet this same king, as far as in him lay, interfered with freedom of election. The Pope found it necessary to write to him, and insist on his acknowledging as bishops such as were canonically elected. Thus we must perceive that the Pope at this time, as well as down to the so-called Reformation, exercised undisputed powers in appointing to bishoprics. No doubt he allowed the king a veto in the appointment, but this could not interfere with the purity of canonical election. Protestant writers, who state that the king was supreme, give a wrong notion of law and fact. Law is misrepresented by a misstatement of facts. One of these writers, for instance, states, speaking of Meath: "The intruder applied to the Pope, and procured a commission to the Bishop of Killaloe and the Archdeacon of Waterford. The king issued a writ to the commissioners not to proceed in the matter to the prejudice of Taghmon, declared that it was his own

* In confirming the charter, Henry makes no mention of the Peter Pence. The payment of the 300 marks for holding Ireland as a fief of the Holy See must have been implied by the promise, because we learn from a letter written by Henry III., in the year 1235, that he paid 500 marks for England and Ireland.—Rymer's *fœdera. Liber Munerum.*

† See App. GG.

and progenitors' right that no election should take place without his letter of licence. The king, being in earnest, had the better of the contest at this time." It is implied that if always in earnest he should conquer.

To give an idea, then, of the distortion which facts suffer in the hands of prejudiced writers, I will simply state the particulars of the case. On the death of Richard le Corner, Hugh de Taghmon was elected. He was confirmed by the official of the primate and metropolitan, who had been in Rome. The Archbishop of Armagh, however, considered that it had not been competent with the official to give confirmation to the elect Bishop of Meath, and so confirmed Galfrid Cusack. A dispute ensued, then, between the archbishop and his *protégé* on the one hand, and the bishop elected by the chapter on the other. These are the very words of the letters of the Pontiff. There is no mention of the king. The Bishop of Killaloe and others associated to him were appointed delegates to inquire into the matter. Cusack, the nominee of the archbishop, died in the meantime. The archbishop, seeing that the diocese suffered by its widowhood of a pastor, consented to the consecration of Hugh Taghmon, and, as far as in him lay, supplied any defect that might have been in his election. Pope Innocent IV. confirmed the election of Hugh, in 1254, and quotes the letter of the Archbishop of Armagh, dated from Naples, in which he withdraws all opposition to the elect of the chapter. It was headed: "Brother Rainer, by the Divine Mercy, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of *all* Ireland." . . . He enters into the origin of the dispute, and the steps taken by the Pope to settle it, by the appointment of the Bishop of Killaloe and others as judges. He, like the Pope, does not allude

to the king unless as a suppliant. "Yielding," he proceeds, "to the entreaties of our illustrious lord King of England, and to those of our venerable brother in Christ the Bishop of Worcester, with the request of both of whom we regret we could not have previously complied, as also to the entreaties of my venerable friends connected with the Roman court who have interceded for the elect, as also to the consideration of his own good character, we ratify the election."* But, while denying the inherent right in the king to raise a voice in the consecration of a bishop, or his actual authoritative interference, as stated by Protestant writers, in the case of the election of Meath, I must admit what I might have said elsewhere, that custom and law gave him a sort of veto. On the death of Marian O'Brien, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1237, the chapter petitioned for the translation of Donald O'Kennedy, Bishop of Killaloe. They did not apply for leave from the justiciary, the king's representative, because he could not be approached. They endeavoured to consult him on the matter, "though they did not feel themselves bound by law or custom." The king refused to consent to the translation, as his leave, in violation of "custom and the *Apostolic Indult*," had not been obtained. But to gain his consent, the Pope promised that the present instance would not be drawn into precedent to the prejudice of the king's privilege. Here, however, the king appeals to a privilege from the Holy See as the ground for indirect interference in the election of a bishop.

In the face of the charter the spiritual courts were not allowed to decide on a question of patronage or presentation to a living. There had been a suit between the Bishops of Cloyne and Emly. The latter claimed a tenement in Kilcomyr, in right of

* Theiner, *Vet. Monum.*

his see: judgment was given in his favour. The former threatened the judge with excommunication and appealed to the spiritual courts.* An inhibition against the appeal was issued by the king, and a prosecution against the bishop who lodged the appeal was instituted.† Did a clergyman die intestate his goods were declared the property of the king. The sees, in many cases, for a whole year were kept vacant. Orders were issued to have those who contracted debts in the king's service or in that of his father indemnify themselves by sweeping into their coffers the revenue of the vacant sees. Knowing the great account to which the temporalities of the Church might be turned, the English monarch from the very first laboured to have an indirect but effectual influence in the appointment of bishops. In granting lands, to which knight's service was attached, King John reserved to himself the donation of bishoprics. Even where the English power was but precariously established, there the disposal of bishoprics was easily surrendered, as far as they were concerned, by the native princes. In Connaught the king's consent had to be sought for the consecration of the bishops.‡ Thus it happened on the occasion of the election of Maelmurry O'Lachnan to the See of Tuam in 1236.

By this means the king had an opportunity of enriching himself during the vacancy of the sees. And when he thought it time to nominate to the bishopric, he got rid of the importunities of a troublesome suitor by promotion to the see.

In order to render the appointment valuable the king much troubled himself at this time about the

* See Appendix HH.

† By the 28th of Henry III. the promotion of a Franciscan to an Irish bishopric was forbidden. However, the prohibition was afterwards withdrawn.

‡ Preface to Clyn's Annals for the I.A.S.

amalgamation of dioceses. In the year 1240, he issued orders to Fitzgerald, who was justiciary, to unite Clogher to Armagh on account of the poverty of the archdiocese, and to put the archbishop in possession of the lands. But the union did not take place, though there may have been some grounds for it. The difficulty formerly was in uniting dioceses; now and in the next century the great evil to be guarded against was the amalgamation of too many dioceses. The Archbishop of Armagh took Louth from Clogher and added it to Armagh. His predecessor, Albert, endeavoured to absorb Clogher entirely in the archdiocese.* Before this the same diocese had to give to Armagh the deaneries of Drogheda, Athirdee, Dundalk, and to the diocese of Derry the church of Ardsrath.

If the Irish Church had to suffer from the encroachments of the king, it had to suffer no less from his ministers and subjects. In the year 1246 the king sent orders to have Ireland governed by the same laws as England enjoyed. But to no effect; the barons were no better than plunderers, made war on each other, and tyranised over their inferiors.

The legal institution of tithes in Ireland exposed the clergy to appeals to their charity and demands on their justice. These appeals were made not only by the king but by the Pope. To understand this we must go back in spirit to the ages of the Crusades † Beginning at the end of the eleventh century, seven in number, they continued with intervals of intermission to the thirteenth century. Their object was

* Louth was separated from Clogher from the year 1247 to 1253. *De Burgo*, p. 458.

† *Vid.* Newman, *on the Turks.* Gibbon's *Dec. and Fall*, vol. xi., p. 145.

to protect the Christian pilgrim in his devotion at the Holy Sepulchre, and to rescue the Holy Land from the pollution of the infidel. Ultimately there was question of life and death, of preventing the Turks from overrunning Europe. The laics were ready to shed their blood; and it was thought not unreasonable that, while others risked their lives, the clergy should give their money in so holy a cause.* So much had Innocent III. the holy cause at heart, that he resolved to eat from earthen and wooden dishes, and melted down the gold and silver plate of his household in order to defray the expenses incident to a Crusade.

During this period the Popes found themselves at war with bad men such as the Emperor Frederick. This was an additional reason for appealing to the generosity of his faithful children. The appeal was made to the English, but the Earl of Chester refused. The Irish clergy granted a tenth. They were not flush in money, but rather sold their furniture and church utensils for the occasion.† In the short space of thirteen years another demand of a twentieth was made on them. They did not demur.‡ Again, in 1247, though the demand by Innocent IV. on all the English dominions was only 11,000 marks, 6,000 were contributed by the Irish. While the appeal of the pontiffs sometimes met a refusal from the English, it was always generously responded to by the Irish clergy. Such donations after some time were

* The privileges enjoyed by Crusaders were exemption from doing canonical penance, provided they went merely from devotion. 2. Their persons, goods, and estates were placed under the protection of the Church. Some, of course, may have gone from bad motives.—*Con. Claramon.* can. II.

† M'Gheoghan, ad an. 1219, p. 310. Hanmer.

‡ Ware says that Frederick intercepted and robbed the collectors.

obligatory. At first the demand was made in a tone of a request; but by-and-by custom gave to it the sanction of law. Excommunications had been employed to enforce the demand for the Crusades; and the infidel in Europe was no less terrible than the Saracenic infidel.

In explanation of this practice and these views some think that, on the coming down of the Northmen, the feudal spirit pervaded all society, even the Church. It was considered in a feudatory light The economy of the Church was likened to the civil polity; and as all feudatories in the State were under the king, so were the clergy under the Pope. However, I think that a more satisfactory explanation of these historical results may be found in the Constitutional Law of Europe. By that law and by his indirect temporal power the Pope, while he pronounced sentence on a matter of conscience, could have summoned all Christendom to execute that sentence. For him it was competent to declare when there was an obligation on the part of the rich. He was the judge, and if there were disobedience in a serious matter there was room for excommunication. The disregard to excommunication led to deposition in sovereigns and degradation in the clergy.* However frequent as were the demands made on the Irish Church there was scarcely ever a necessity of recurring to censures for enforcing them. The demands were met by the Irish with the same feelings which influenced the famous Groteste. They might say like him, "It is no wonder that we act so. It would be a greater wonder and shame if, without being asked or ordered, we did not do as much or more; for we see persons driven into exile, straitened

* Gosselin, *on Power of the Popes*, edited by Rev. Dr. M. Kelly, Maynooth.

by persecution, stripped of their inheritance, deprived of a decent maintenance."* Such were the objects to which the Irish clergy devoted their contributions. They gave only what the Sovereign Pontiffs in after trying times were but too happy to pay with interest.†

The wars in which the Pope found himself involved with bad emperors and princes and the support of officials for the transaction of the business of the Universal Church necessitated the contributions. Pope John XXII. was the first perhaps to demand annates or first fruits in Ireland to liquidate the debt contracted by him. In 1229, the Pope of the time, writing for aid, explains the grounds of his application. "He alone undertook this expedition in behalf of the Universal Church, which the Emperor (Frederick II.) excommunicated, and, rebel as he is, endeavours to subvert, as is abundantly evident." By-and-by there were the Bonifacian annates, and so called because Boniface IX. lessened the sums, if paid in advance, before the expediting of the bulls. These were not, according to Fagnanus ‡ ever paid in England because of the Peter Pence being paid. But if he means to include Ireland (as I think he does) under England, he appears mistaken. Because there are several instances on record of the bulls for consecration being delayed, and sometimes indefinitely, for not having been previously redeemed by Irish bishops. Even after consecration the bishop was liable to excommunication for not having paid the customary offering. It was for no other reason launched against the Archbishop of Cashel, and for other reasons besides against the Archbishop of

* Groteste, I. Ep. 119.

† *Vid.* O'Renehan MSS. and Dr. Moran's *Life of Archbishop Plunkett* for the sums of money given by Popes during the 17th and 18th centuries.

‡ *Decretal the fifth.*

Armagh. Sometimes, however, though threatened, it was not put in execution. Thus, in 1263, Pope Urban ordered Brother John, Apostolic Nuncio, not to proceed as directed against the Archbishop of Tuam, for not having paid 1,000 marks advanced for him by Florentine merchants. Very frequently it happened then that the Pope had to indemnify the bankers who advanced money for the redemption of the "Bulls." The Pope, too, according to the needs of the hour, received tenths or twentieths of the livings. Sometimes they were demanded of all—prelates, colleges, chapters, convents, monasteries, benefices. At other times some religious orders were exempted because of their noble services and sacrifices for religion. Then came the tribute for which the English monarchs held England and Ireland as feudatories. But this was very irregularly paid, and in process of time objected to by them. For, in the year 1365, Pope Urban asks for arrears of thirty-two years, which were not demanded owing to the drains on the Exchequer. And in the year 1317, Pope John, writing to William, an archdeacon, commissions him to gather the arrears of the last twenty-four years; and says that he will be satisfied if within a limited time he received 24,000 marks, the debt of twenty-four years. By the way, in speaking of the several sources of revenue, he includes Peter's Pence among them, also tithes. With regard to the taxation of benefices it was considerable only on paper; for very generally there were heavy arrears. The sums received by apostolic collection from the rich See of Dublin during the pontificates of Innocent IV., Clement VI., and Urban V., amounted only to £240 10*s*. Meath supplied £40. 500 marks were received through Galfrid Joinville, a nobleman. The sum of 140 marks was received through the Bishop

of Meath, collected principally by the Prior of the Dominicans and Provincial of the Minors. The same bishop gave 100 marks in 1269. Through Thomas, Bishop of Lismore, was received £66 ; it was collected by Robert, Prior of the Limerick Dominicans. The bishop gave forty marks, in which he was bound to the Holy Land, as well in vessels of silver, as a mass of silver worth £13 17*s* 4*d*. The Dominican Prior, Eneas, collected ninety-two marks ; the House of Slygaght (Sligo) contributed 17s 10d ; in 1266 thirty marks and tenpence came from the Superior of the Fathers in Mullingar ; in 1266, from the Prior of Athenry came thirty marks ; from Henry Lisele and John Matugan, Prior of Athlehan, came twenty-eight and a-half marks ; from Brother Clement, a Dominican of Drogheda, came £11 12s. 8*d*. collected amongst the Irish of Armagh ; a mark came from the Prior of Cashel ; Clement, a Dominican of Clogher, collected £3 4*s*. 9*d*. The apostolic collector, John de Cabrespino, declared he had not time or courage to go, from the year 1363 to 1364, into Limerick, Ferns, Ossory, Down, or Lismore. All these sums amount to scarcely £1,000. What a small sum for a nation ! what a small sum in comparison to the business of a vast and expensive character carried on for the benefit of Christendom in general, and Ireland in particular ! Yes, indeed, as far as Ireland was concerned, it would be necessary, in the words of an illustrious writer, "to create a Pope, even though he were not of divine appointment." Without him, amid the jars of parties, there would not remain to us a shred of unity or of faith. What a small sum in comparison to the munificent supplies furnished to the Irish in the darkest hour of their distress !*

* We have an opportunity of showing our gratitude, or rather

Unfortunately, during the period under review up came the same acts of disorder and violence which characterised the early days of the invasion. They were such that some Englishmen of spirit and honesty thought it necessary to make some compensation for them. No wonder, then, that Fitzgerald and De Lacy, inured as they were to scenes of plunder, disavowed those acts which could be perpetrated, one would think, only by the Moslem. Sacred vestments, vessels of the altar were carried off. MacWilliam Burke took away in the next year every ounce of provision stowed into the churches of Connaught. The inhabitants imagined that whatever was under the shadow of the sanctuary was safe; but their delusion about the extent and inviolability of sanctuary, so fondly cherished, was rudely dispelled. And if rank could ennoble crime MacWilliam need not have felt ashamed; for in the same year the Lord Justice burned Termon Caollain.† Fidlim O'Connor demanded an eric for the massacre of 3,000 monks and priests.‡

Nor was there less reason to weep over the doings of the natives. While the invaders, generally speaking, pursued a course of plunder and sacrilegious burning, it was not done, perhaps, from irreligion, but to bring the natives under; on the contrary, the natives, for no general good, having already no

justice, by contributing Peter Pence towards the relief of our present illustrious Pontiff, Leo XIII,

† Termon lands were church lands. The term was derived from the Latin word "terminus," a boundary. The bishop and king went out and fixed the boundary stakes. Speaking of the decree of the Emperor Lothaire III., Du Cange says: "Ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Servatii solam in Trajectensi urbe habere decimas et *terminum*." Hence Termon-Fechin, Termon-Senan.

‡ As English law would not be given to the natives, the friend or chief of the deceased demanded a mulct instead of capital punishment for the murders.—Leland, B. II. c. i.

rational hope of national independence from divided plans, acted from the pettiest, most selfish motives. Connaught especially presented a lamentable appearance. The wars between the sons of Roderick for the chieftaincy were of a disastrous character. Churches were plundered, as the annalists record; the learned and the clergy were driven into exile. Such unnatural feuds were continued not merely for a year, but for a long series of years. So much was blind fury directed against sacred things and consecrated persons, that it can be accounted for only on the supposition that either the clergy took too decided a part with their chief, or that everything was done by one which he believed would naturally pain the other, his rival. The descendants of Turlough O'Connor burned the churches of Imlagh Brocadha over the heads of the O'Flyns, though there were in it women, nuns, and three priests.* Hugh violated the shrine of Roscommon; he was excommunicated with bell, book, and crosier by the bishop. The annalists do not fail to add that a violent death was the consequence to the excommunicated. Similar instances are in abundance, which might appear just retributions arising out of a lawless sacrilegious course. Sober annalists tell us that Cathal O'Connor, marching against O'Reilly, stopped at the Abbey of Fenagh. The abbot was not at home. The convent, especially the dormitories, were in an unfinished state. On that account tents were thrown up inside the walls under the roof of the house. The soldiers, whether accidentally or by design is not mentioned, burned the tents. One of the students was smothered. On coming home in the evening, and finding one of his subjects dead, the abbot demanded an eric. He fixed

* *Annals of Kilronan.*

on him who was represented to be the leading man in the pillaging party as the man for whom ransom was to be paid. Manus Muinnagh was his name. But the plundering party, paying no regard to the demand, departed. They had not gone far, however, till they came to a river deep and rapid. They got into a neighbouring church and rifled it, in order to get beams to use as rafts over the river. Manus, on looking to the roof and superintending the work of demolition, was killed by a beam falling from the roof. It was the church of St. John the Baptist. The annalists, with a degree of playfulness not peculiar to them in such circumstances, add that *then* the abbot got an eric. The friends of Manus gave twenty steeds, and also as much money as filled the king's bell three times.*

Suggestive of the same spirit is the following petition of the abbot and Convent of Our Lady of the Rock of Cashel:—"Having been endowed by David M'Keroyl, Archbishop of Ireland, of divers lands and tenements in free alms, they are harassed and impeded by escheators, sheriffs, and other ministers of the king against their feoffments. They thereupon pray the king to confirm the archbishop's feoffments so that they remain in peace and be no longer harassed.

"While two of their monks and a brother were in their church of St. Nicholas, people of Ireland came, killed one monk before the altar, beat the other to death, drove the brother from the church, and threw him into the water. As men of religion they cannot prosecute this trespass, and therefore pray a remedy of the king."†

* The King's Bell, or Clogna-Rioch, was so designated because it contained the water which baptized nineteen kings.—"Book of Feenagh," *Annal. Four Mast.*, ad. an. 1244.

† *Calendar of Papers*, from 1285 to 1292, by Sweetman.

As a counterpoise to these sacrilegious acts many, however, of quite an opposite character might be adduced. Throughout a strong religious undercurrent ran beneath the surface; or rather visibly, side by side with enormities, all the land over, and not unfrequently in the same person might the manifestation of religious principle and devotional feeling be witnessed. The creative spirit was stronger than the destructive. Numerous new churches were built and the old were beautified. Perhaps some 170 religious houses during this century were founded.*

The Irish Church maintained its character also for hospitality. In all ages, indeed, even before the Christian era, Ireland possessed its houses of hospitality. But it was only to the noble and mighty they were thrown open.† For Christianity it was reserved to prepare welcome cheer for the lowly and the poor. Biatachs were fitted up for the pilgrim and the stranger.‡ A religious spirit after all leavened society, and exhibited itself in those magnificent structures in which the Gothic style appears in its impressive development. There were houses, some of which served for spacious courts of justice till a comparatively late period. They were truly national monuments.

There were many phases of the Catholic mind. People loved to turn from images of wrong and turmoil to visions of peace and bliss. They assembled —the priests, and canons, and abbots, and people,

* *Vid.* app.

† See the destruction of "Bruighean an Derga" in Leabar n-uidhre, in R.I.A.

‡ Biatach houses represented the xenedochium of earlier ages and other countries. The biatach contained 16 ballyboes; each ballyboe contained 60 acres, that is 960 acres entirely. The word must be distinguished carefully from biataghs, which meant slaves or villeins.—*An. Four Mast.*, ad an., 1225. *Liber Mun.*, Part vii.

with the primate at their head; formed their religious processions; and from time to time as well from a devotional feeling as to call to mind and signify union with the Holy See (when almost all other union was gone), they exhibited the relics brought of old by St. Mochtheus from Rome. But with peculiar pleasure did the Irish Church hear of the honours paid to the relics of its last canonised saint by foreign nations.* With peculiar rapture did the Irish priests and people venerate some of these relics.

There were indeed in these degenerate days some holy souls who, by their sanctity, deserved a place in native and foreign calendars for the edification of the faithful. Christian O'Conarchy, who assisted at the Council of Kells, was honoured on the 18th of March in the English Martyrology; Blessed Gelasius, who died March 27th, 1174, is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal; St. Machabeo, Abbot of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh,† who died 31st of March the same year, is the last of the thousands of saints in point of time commemorated in domestic Martyrologies.‡ Blessed Cornelius M'Concaille, Archbishop of Armagh, who died June 4th, 1176, at Cham-

* St. Laurence O'Toole was canonised by Honorious IV. in 1225. His relics were brought to the Canons Regular of Sanluce, near Paris, to the abbey of St. Victor, and to the hospital of Hotel Dieu in Paris. One of his mitres was preserved in St. Genevieve, Paris. The death of the saints is called the natalis, or birthday: "Hodie celebramus natalem quod primicerius martyrum migravit e mundo."—*St. Aug.*, ser. 1., de sanc. martyr. tom. x.

† There were churches under his invocation in Cloyne.

‡ Et Supremun elogium esse potest, quod sit omnium suæ gentis, non meritis, sed tempore fere postremus, quem domestica martyrologia titulo sanctitatis execeant.—Colgan, AA.SS. Over 2,000 Irish saints appear in the martyrology of Donegal. Scores of saints had the same name. There were 34 SS. Mochumios, 37 SS. Molnanos, 43 SS. Molassis or Laisreans, 48 SS. Mochuanis, 200 SS. Colmans, 23 SS. Columbacs, 24 SS. Columbans. In fact there were 62 classes of homonymous saints.

bery, is honoured there with a double office;* the great St. Malachy, companion of St. Bernard, was canonised on July 6th, 1190. The days, however, were fast disappearing when saints were the most prominent characters in Irish history, when they appeared spread out to an endless length over the moral horizon, numerous, in the words of the annalist, "as the stars of heaven." The days had gone by when persons came to Ireland to serve an apprenticeship for saintship. Not that indeed with God's grace a goodly number of holy men did not appear from time to time. Not that hundreds during what may be called the "Era of the Martyrs," at and after the Reformation, have not closed a useful and holy life by death for the Catholic faith. But St. Laurence O'Toole stands out as the last canonised one with the unerring sanction of Rome, and as closing that long line of saints who covered the early Irish Church with imperishable glory. He was canonised by Honorius IV., on the 3rd of the Ides of December, in 1225.† Some of his relics were brought to Dublin. It may have been worse than useless for his militant countrymen in their crushed and divided state to struggle like him for national independence; but amid their struggles in their degradation the solemn exposition in Christ's Church, Dublin, was a beacon-light to guide them to an unearthly, everlasting inheritance.

* Ave, pater gloriose,
Salve præsul pretiose.
Quondam pater Irlandæ,
Nunc decus Subaudiæ.

† Though there are various years assigned for the canonisation, the *Bullarium Romanum* puts it to the date in the text. Dr. Lanigan relies on Messingham, instead of going according to his usual course to the original source. On that account he quotes the *Bullarium* for the year 1226, which really puts it to 1225. Dr. M. Kelly, in the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, does the same.—*Vid.* Coqueline, *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. ii. p. 242. Ussher, *Sylloge*, Ep. 48.

CHAPTER XV.

Few of the English monarchs owed more to the Sovereign Pontiffs than Henry III. For when the nation was convulsed by wars waged against the barons, and in which his father had to yield, Henry, a mere boy, was directed by the wisdom of the Pontiff, and the barons were restrained by his paternal authority. Gratitude, then, if not a sense of religion, might have left the Holy See free in its dealings with the Irish Church. The last chapter, however, can teach us how the charter of freedom was violated. The very legate from the Pope, coming on his Holiness' pressing personal business, was obliged to throw aside the purple or legatine badge in order that he may not give offence to Henry.*

Henry while he paid little respect to the wishes of the Pontiff, had little to fear from the valour of the Irish. In the year 1258, O'Neill and O'Brien from Thomond agreed to meet in order to take steps in concert against the common enemy. They did meet at Loch Erne; but as each came determined that himself, at all events, should be leader, no good as a matter of course came of the interview. Both were dead before the expiration of two years, and the chain thrown over the country was more firmly rivetted than ever. The native chiefs were divided, stripped of their inheritence; the people were driven to the bogs and mountains; the heel of the oppressor was firmly pressed on the country. In this state of things the

* Hanmer.

monarch was at liberty to trample on the liberty of the Church. The most worthless and ignorant of the English clergy filled the richest prebendal stalls. In direct violation of the terms of the charter confirmed by him on his accession to the throne, Henry reserved to himself the profits of the vacant sees instead of employing them for charitable purposes.

And here I take the opportunity of speaking of the several modes of election. In reference to benefices either the bishop or lay patron presented to them. There were three forms of election of bishops. The first was by "inspiration." This happened when all who were entitled to vote, with one accord without previous discussion or formality, as if under a divine impulse, elected a bishop.

The second mode took place by general voting, called "scrutinium." All were summoned who were entitled to vote. Three of those entitled to vote were appointed as scrutators, or persons who took the vote of each. It was taken in writing privately and separately from other votes. The result was publicly announced after the voting. He was declared the elect in whose favour the greater and wiser part had registered their votes. Let the election of an Archbishop of Cashel, in 1303, serve as an instance. "All who were entitled to attend were present on an appointed day. They invoked the Holy Ghost. After some discussion they appointed as scrutators Richard De Sam, Chancellor of Cashel, Father Offeida, and Nicolaus of Florence, all canons. First of all they recorded their own votes privately; then they received in writing the votes of all separately. On counting the votes most of them were found registered in favour of the Archdeacon of Cashel; the smaller number was given to the Bishop of Killaloe. Then the archdeacon was solemnly announced as the archbishop."

The third mode was by compromise. This takes place when all entitled to vote confer on a small number the power of providing for the vacant diocese. This is illustrated by the words addressed by the Pope to the successor of St. Flannan. In 1326, Pope John XXII., writing to David, Bishop of Killaloe, in reference to his election, says: "The Church of Killaloe being lately widowed of its pastor by the death of Benedict, bishop, who died there, and our beloved children composing the chapter of that church having summoned all who should, could, and would be present on a fixed day, as is customary, they unanimously elected you canon of that church in subdeacon's orders by way of "compromise," as Bishop of Killaloe. You agreed to that election; and as you could not be confirmed by your Metropolitan Archbishop of Cashel because excommunicated and denounced publicly as such, you came personally to the Apostolic See."*

That the management of the temporalities, whatever may be said of their use, was claimed by the king, is beyond doubt. Because in the year 1253, Pope Innocent IV. wrote to the King of England in reference to the election of Isaac, Bishop of Killaloe:— "We send him (the bishop) with our full favour to the church of Killaloe, and deem it right to advise and

* He was censured for no other reason that I am aware of than that he did not redeem the bulls of consecration. In despair of doing justice to the beauty of the original by a translation, I give in Latin the words of advice and encouragement addressed by the Pope to the Bishop of Killaloe:—"Reverenter itaque suscipe jugum Domini, et suavi ejus oneri humiliter colla submittens, ipsius ecclesiæ solicitam curam geras, gregem dominicum in ea tibi commissum doctrina verbi et operis informando, ita quod eadem ecclesia sponso utili et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, tuque proinde præter retributionis æteræ præmium nostræ ac sedis ejusdem gratiæ et benedictionis mereari percipere incrementum."

request your Royal Serenity for the respect you owe to the Apostolic See, and to ourselves, that you graciously take him and the church committed to him under your gracious protection, and that you would give him of your royal bounty the temporalities, whose custody devolves on you on the vacancy of the see by ancient custom, as is said." However, now it was not so much of the management of the vacant livings there was question as of providing them with proper pastors. Hence it was that the Irish bishops commissioned Hubert de Burgh, Bishop of Limerick to go to Rome, and lay their grievances before the Holy See. Some opposition from the king, and the death of Hubert at Rome prevented further steps in that matter. However, thinking it high time to take measures in prevention of the church being enslaved as the nation, of being monopolized as the offices of state by greedy adventurers, the Irish bishops met in the year 1250. They resolved to admit no Englishman to a canonry in their churches. In the then prostrate state of the country it was a bold resolve. The resolution of the Irish bishops was represented as the result of a narrow national antipathy. The Pope ordered the rescinding of the resolution; that the Church should be thrown open to all, and not kept for the benefit of a few persons or any individual nation. This was only fair. Because, as Pope Honorius, in 1224, declared null the statute which forebade promotion to the Irish, so now it was right that he should deal the same justice to the English.*

* It is very strange that though the Irish were accused of being lovers of discord by their Anglo-Norman brethren in religion, yet an effort was made by them to gain admission into the Irish religious houses. Thus, about the year 1324, the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, with the Pope's commissioner, Philip of Slane,

Beyond question, the Pope acted from the best—most disinterested motives. It would have been more to his personal interest—if what was spent for the good of the Church by him could be called personal—that benefices should have been enjoyed by Irish rather than English incumbents. Because the latter could not be got on all accasions to relax their grasp of money at the demand of Rome. Not so with the Irish clergy. They may have been in difficulties, but they always lent a willing ear to an appeal from Rome. The demands were frequently made during the remaining portion of this century by the Pope and the king; by the former for the wars in which he found himself engaged; by the latter under pretence of joining the crusade. The money got for an expedition to rescue the Holy Sepulchre was often diverted by the king into his own coffers. The king required the help of the Pope, and the Pope sometimes found the co-operation of the king to be of use. For the landing of a legate the king's leave was required, and sometimes refused. If the king insisted that the money came from his lands, the Pope on the other side maintained that once in the possession of the clergy it belonged to the Church. Again, the king urged that the withdrawal of the money to Rome or elsewhere impoverished the realm. To prevent this, the English monarch sent four of his nobles, in the year 1245, to the Council of Lyons.

Bishop of Cork, had some resolutions passed to the effect :—1st, That the small and poor bishoprics not exceeding in value £20, £40, or £60 yearly, and governed by the mere Irish, who are known to have been lovers of discord and contention, should be united to the larger bishoprics. 2nd, That the Irish abbots and priors should admit English into lay brotherhood with them. —Rymer, xvi., p. 559.

Again in 1216, January 17, we hear, "As the peace of Ireland has been disturbed by elections of Irishmen, the king commands that for the future no Irishman be elected or promoted in any cathedral."—Vol. i, Henry III., m. 13, *Sweetman.*

He would have them protest against the withdrawal of money from the kingdom, especially the yearly sums promised by King John for the lordship of Ireland * However, one is surprised to find, in 1278, that Edward paid for himself and his predecessor, Henry, the sum of 8,000 marks for the kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland.† The heaviest part of what was paid was borne by the Church. Hence, Henry writes to the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel, to the Provincials of Franciscans and Dominicans in order to their preaching a crusade.‡ In the following year, 1251, Innocent IV. wrote to the bishops to have the money collected in the last year forthcoming. In 1270, the Pope for his wars against the King of Aragan required tithes from all promotions during three years. In 1270, Henry wrote to demand for his wife, Eleanora, the tenth promised by the Pope during three years.§ In 1280, Edward I., under pretence of a crusade to the Holy Land, obtained a tenth from the clergy, and afterwards demanded a fifteenth.‖ In the year 1291, Nicholas IV. directed a bull to the Bishop of Meath, and to the Dean of Dublin, by virtue of which the tenths of ecclesiastical benefices in the four archdioceses during six years for the Holy Land were given to Edward.¶

* *Upodeigma Neustriæ*, by the Monk of St. Albans, p. 464.
† Baronius, ad. an. no. 40.
‡ *Liber Mun.*
§ Hanmer.
‖ The fifteenth was refused.—*Liber Mun. Gesta Anglor.*
¶ The dean was to act, not the Bishop of Dublin lest he may appear to exercise any authority over the exempt houses in Meath. The dean was empowered to absolve, in due circumstances, any who may have incurred excommunication or irregularity by not having paid said tenth. The houses of Cluni (the Cistercians) of Premonstre, of St. Benedict. of St. Augustine, of Carthusians, Grandimontenses, and those of other orders were subjected to the tax. Owing to the expense they were at, the Templars and Hospitallers were exempted.—*Lib. Munerum.*

In 1297, Edward again applied for a subsidy, but whether he got it or not, certain it is that he appropriated to his own purposes a tenth already received for a crusade to the Holy Land. The appropriation was sanctioned by Pope Boniface. Such were the exactions of this English monarch at this time that the Holy See interposed between Edward and the Irish Church; and at the close of the century fulminated excommunications against any laic who would claim, or clergyman who would comply with exacting demands. The tithe system and the clergy appeared only a convenient means in the hands of the monarch for extracting money from the people —money that might otherwise be sparingly and reluctantly given. Exactions and appointments of the most worthless English to Irish prebends by the king were not the only evils the Irish Church suffered. Orders were issued to the chief justice by Edward to appropriate the revenues of the vacant sees, and to turn the temporalities to the best account. As a result of such a course, we find the See of Dublin vacant for seven years. The Lord of Ireland —so the English monarch was called—insisted on the presentation to the vacant sees.

The representative of a long line of kings, and himself styled King of Connaught at the time, dared not present to a living endowed by his fathers, to a living of the poorest kind, and requiring a speedy appointment.* Even in the remotest parts of Connaught, the election of a candidate by the chapter to the See of Tuam, and his confirmation by the Pope, did not deter the English monarch from objecting to

* The King of Connaught, in applying for leave to appoint to the See of Achonry, said that it would suffer without being immediately filled, and that it was not worth more than twenty marks. A mark was 13s. 4d.—*Liber Mun.*

the choice.* Nor was this all. Jealousy and tyranny towards the Irish Church took another form. The old times had gone by when the people and monarch accompanied with valedictory greetings and blessings to the seashore the prelate who proceeded on a journey to Rome. At the present time every obstacle was thrown in the way of such visits. And though, so early as the days of St. Laurence O'Toole, the same jealousy was manifested by Henry II., yet till the present we did not see it systematically acted on. Jealously limited was the time of absence. Even during that absence the temporalities of the absent prelate were invaded by some grasping baron, or selfish Anglo-Norman bishop. The most foolish pretext for attack on the undefended see was admitted. Bishops absent on the affairs of their diocese, or on the usual visits to the tombs of the apostles, could not appoint procurators for their sees. In the year 1255, Alexander III. had to write to Henry III. in reference to the absence of the Archbishop of Armagh. The Pope expressed a wish that as injury was done to the see of the archbishop on a former occasion by his absence, he may be allowed to be represented by a procurator.† Otherwise in his absence the most absurd suit against him could not be defended. No difficulty, on the other hand, arose from absence on the king's service. Hence to the absence of men like the Bishop of Meath, who may be absent for three years, every facility was afforded.‡

* *Fœdera* of old Rymer, ad. an. p. 63.

† In the year 1283, Edward wrote to the Cardinals, complaining that the person chosen for the archdiocese of Tuam was obnoxious.—*Ibid.*

‡ In 1281, a writ of protection was given to the Bishop of Waterford. There were two kinds of writs. One was styled "Cum clausula volumus," the other, "Cum clausula nolumus." The latter was given to a spiritual company, principally to secure their cattle from being taken by the king's minister. The "cum

While there was an unmistakable disposition on the part of the temporal power to make the Church its creature or hamper its freedom of action, it is lamentable that the Church did not realise its position. To the hostility arrayed against it the Church did not exhibit either union or disinterestedness. For in the year 1251, M'Flin, Archbishop of Tuam, succeeded in uniting Enaghdune to his see. It was not done without opposition. During the seventy years following there were disputes about nominations to the See of Enaghdune. These disputes happened even during the lifetime of M'Flin. From time to time the king proposed or favoured a candidate for Annadown. At the close of the century, too, on the accession of a new archbishop, the ring and mitre of the Bishop of Enaghdune were taken away. The same archbishop did not stand on better terms with the religious orders than with his brother bishop. A dispute arose between them. It would appear that a chapter or conference was held by the Archdeacon of Tuam at Athenry. Either because they were not invited, or because the archdeacon insisted on their attendance, the Dominicans took offence. They were excommunicated. All were interdicted from communicating with them. At last they were necessitated to invoke the aid of the secular arm.

Turning to an opposite part of the kingdom a like spirit of encroachment is met with. In the year 1252 complaints were forwarded by the bishop and people of Clogher to the Pope, Innocent IV., against

clausula volumus" was of four kinds: firstly, it was given to one who was to pass the seas in the king's service; secondly, it was given to one who was abroad for the king's service; thirdly, it gave protection to the king's debtor till the king's debts were paid; fourthly, it gave protection to one beyond the seas, or marches of Scotland against suits.—Fiztherbert, *Natura Brevium.*

a man who of all others was bound to give an example of both moderation and order. The relations between the Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragan were of an unpleasant nature. The visitations of the archbishop were so frequent and burdensome that the canons were appealed to. Before they could understand each other a complaint of the grievance was made by the Bishop of Ferns to the Pope. Nor was this all. Christ's Church and St. Patrick's warmly contended for pre-eminence and power. The cause of the dispute was laid a long time before the present. Archbishop Comyn restored St. Patrick's, and his successor, Henry Loundres, raised it to the rank of a cathedral church. Hence arose the dispute as to which should retain the power to elect a bishop. Archbishop Luke attempted an adjustment of claims. He decided that St. Patrick's should have a voice, but that the election should take place in Christ's Church. The decision, however, did not put the matter to rest. It was revived during the reign of Archbishop Ferrings. While pronouncing the claims of both to be equal, he adjudged precedence to Christ's Church. In addition to disunion, a spirit of insubordination to legitimate authority supervened. The Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Meath set about exempting themselves from the jurisdiction of the primate. The Archbishop of Tuam set up a claim of independence in imitation of the Archbishop of Dublin; the Bishop of Meath, because he was often either treasurer or chancellor. However, order maintained its supremacy. In 1255, the Pope wrote a letter by which he empowered the Archbishop of Armagh to visit the archdiocese of Tuam. In January, 1262, a synod was convened by the primate. The archdioceses of Tuam and Dublin were represented. The primatial

right over Meath and Tuam was acknowledged. The right of visitation even in the absence of any offence in the bishops of either was promulgated. The right was acknowledged not long after in the person of the primate's commissioner. With regard to Tuam, the right to visit it not only every seventh year as before, but even every fifth, was advanced and recognised. The stay of the primate during visitation, however, was limited to twenty-seven days.

Want of mutual forbearance between members of the episcopacy, absence of union between members of the same chapter, rendered the Church comparatively unequal to that measure of good which was so much needed, and powerless against the encroachments of the monarch. United the Church might have opposed a strong barrier to tyranny; but disunited, it neither defended itself nor lessened the misery of the people. On the contrary, while the sufferings of the people were aggravated, the privileges of the Church were curtailed. One chief or baron made war on his neighbour. Each lived as if there were no community of interests. A lot of idle retainers was kept on hands, the support of whom precipitated a foray on the neighbour. The Irish, selfish and turbulent, lived as if they had no common foe to expel. The settlers lived as though they had not an unforgiving enemy to keep under. The M'Carthys slew some of the Geraldines and eighteen barons; and the Geraldines seized and imprisoned the chief governor, D'Burgo.* To the Irish, for whose correction a bull was got from Adrian IV., was denied the benefit of English law. And though there is no excuse for the master who kept in his employment bad servants, yet to the credit of the king be it mentioned that he wished to extend the benefit of English legislation to

* Leland, B. II., ch. 1.

the Irish. The Anglo-Norman barons however, contrived to excuse themselves by saying, that a sufficient number of peers could not be got together for such an important step. Again, in 1280, Edward I. wrote and required, no matter how few were the peers, that a council should be formed; and that the English rights and privileges for which the Irish offered 8,000 marks, should be afforded them. But the English barons found their account in refusing such a boon. Laws were made to prevent one assuming the garb of an Irishman. The reason assigned against the assumption of an Irish dress was that death sometimes happened to the English from its adoption. Here, then, were a people denied the benefit of those laws by the invading strangers, who justified their invasion on the pretext of anxiety to impart these laws. Here, then, were two races on the same land in necessarily hostile antagonism. Such were the subjects whom the churches were called on to fit for heaven. A delicate task for any, but especially for those churches which shared the prejudices of the rival subjects.

While the Church presented the same features of disunion as the State, it did not fail being shorn of its privileges. The people of Dublin, encouraged by the mayor, set about curtailing the offerings to the clergy; and in consequence, regulations were made by which people were forbidden making oblations on every Sunday. Such had been the practice for a long time. Thenceforth no one was to make an oblation oftener than four times a year. No more than two persons were to attend for the future at a marriage or churching. This cut off a great source of emolument; for the perquisites varied directly with the numbers in attendance. It would appear, too, that a large quantity of light was used in processions

at funerals. The unburned candles went to supply the churches within whose precincts the burial took place. The mayor and his party allowed only two wax lights to the church. They prohibited any case of usury being brought before the ecclesiastical tribunal; to it only testamentary and matrimonial cases were consigned; from it then was withdrawn the cognizance of goods of an intestate. The mayor and citizens insisted that no person, even in ecclesiastical matters, should be dragged beyond the city. Of course such encroachments could not be tamely borne by the archbishops and clergy. They warned the citizens to lower their pretensions and rescind their resolutions: but to no effect. Excommunication was launched, and an interdict was thrown on the city. To proceed canonically the clergy notified the conduct of the citizens to the Pope's legate, Cardinal Othobon, then in London. He at once issued orders to the bishops of Lismore and Waterford to denounce the rebellious with bell, book, and candle-light, in all places within the province and city of Dublin.

It is more than probable that, yielding to the terrors of excommunication, the citizens withdrew their obnoxious laws. But, with regard to other matters, we find a curious agreement entered into in the following year. It may make us smile, but assuredly it ought to make us pause before we judge of a measure of any age by the customs of another age. In 1268, it was agreed on by common consent that if one committed a public sin—if the first offence—he may commute it for money; that if he continue in the sin, and the same be public and enormous, that then he be cudgelled about the Church of Saint Patrick's; and that, if still he persisted in the sin, the official of the archbishop should

give notice of it to the mayor and bailiffs. It became their duty then to turn him out of the city or cudgel him through it. It was decreed that after such public sins there should be a yearly inquisition. But in no case could any official of the archbishop draw one beyond the jurisdiction of the city. Every offender was to be tried within the city.*

When such bold encroachments were attempted by the subject, we can easily imagine still more sweeping innovations to have been tried by the prince against the privileges of the Church. The king's licence to an election was required. More than that, the elect had to present himself before the king in England; and, whenever he was exempted from the obligation, it was on condition that the concession should not be drawn into precedent. But against the exercise of functions which the bishops claimed as spiritual and temporal lords, the most serious encroachments struck. In all ages priests of every sort of religion exercised influence in various degrees on the affairs of state. Surely Christianity, whose mysteries were too sublime for the dignity even of angels, was well calculated to insure respect for its ministers. Hence the Church made its laws, and the State sanctioned them. Emperors and Christian magistrates took the degrees of councils, incorporated them into the body of civil law, and gave them temporal sanction. Scarcely was there a point of faith or general discipline which the State, as the handmaid of the Church, did not sanction. Not merely did society take its tone in the making of laws from Christianity, but it allowed Christian ministers to apply these laws to particular cases. It made them

* *Liber Niger* (Dub.) *History of Dublin*, by Gilbert. See App. I. I.

judges. The ground was laid for such a state of things by the advice of St. Paul.* He cautioned the faithful against dragging each other before infidel judges. There was a scrupulous delicacy on the part of the early Christians in reference to such suits. Litigated matters were referred to the bishops. By-and-by, when Christianity gained ground and made converts on the throne of the Cæsars, the power which faith and religion at first gave to the bishops was confirmed by the devotion of the newly converted. Liberty was given to the laics to bring their disputes before the ecclesiastical superior, and to decline the judgment of secular tribunals. The judgment of the bishop was made more binding than that of the laic; and the governor was ordered to see to its execution.† Subject to some restriction, this power in bishops was confirmed by the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius. The restriction required that both parties should have appealed to the bishop, and that there should not be question of criminal matters. Justinian would have bishops tried only by a council or patriarch, and clerics and virgins in civil matters tried only before a bishop. The sentence was open to an appeal. But in criminal matters they might be cited before either the ecclesiastical or civil tribunal. Bishops may inflict temporal penalties on criminals.‡ When reason and religion and positive law then attributed such fitness for the office of judge to a bishop in the Universal Church, and clothed him with such ample powers, we may be prepared to see the fullest measure of power forced on the fathers of the Irish Church by

* *Vid.* St. Paul to the Corinthians.

† Sozomen's *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i., ch. 9.

‡ Devoti's *Jus. Can.*, tom. iv., lib. iv., tit. 1, n. 10. St. Augustine urges Marcellinus, in the year 412, to punish the Donatists, not by fire and the rack, but by rods as a father, tom ii., p. 396, *Ep. ad Marcellin.*

the most obedient and loving spiritual children; because, perhaps, there is not a nation in Europe which has at all times evinced such reverence and attachment to its priests as Ireland. Hence, amid trials and difficulties which made a wreck of most of the Northern Churches in Europe, the faith of the Irish Church has been kept inviolate. Superior knowledge, and the veneration with which he was looked up to, gave an incalculable weight in the eyes of the Irish to the words of the priest. Even the "termoners" or ecclesiastical tenants decided the ordinary disputes of their locality.* In civil affairs, aye, in matters of life and death, the word of the priest was supreme. Hence the desire of the warrior chief or king to have the priest by his side in the day of battle. His presence, together with the relics of the saints, was deemed necessary to ensure success, to minister to the spiritual wants of the dying, and to influence the chief in the treatment of the prisoners. Such had been the close union between the priests and the chief, at the marriage-feast, the wedding-day, the rousing christening, at the really mournful funeral, in joy and sorrow, that it was with difficulty in the eighth or ninth century the Irish monarchs were induced to dispense during their warlike expeditions with the attendance of their priests.

Before the coming of the English the power of the Irish clergy was to some degree undefined and unlimited. Afterwards the privileges of the order, though abridged, were however sufficiently ample. Agreeably to the old Roman law and to the spirit of the age, matters involving essentially question of right or sin were supposed to belong to the bishop as such. At the same time their position as temporal

* At the request of the termoners even culprits were pardoned.—MSS. in the Lambeth Library.

lords implied extensive jurisdiction. On that account to bishops as spiritual and temporal lords belonged questions of fact and right in connexion with all civil matters. Monks as well as bishops enjoyed these privileges. There can be no doubt that all civil pleas with the fines (the power of life and limb retained) could be disposed of by the ecclesiastical courts.* Gradually the Church was shorn of its privileges, so that in the year 1276 the king appointed twelve men as jurors to decide whether it would be an injury to the Archbishop of Cashel to have a prison built on his bailiwick. They found that it would not. But the archbishop denounced it as an infringement on the liberties of the borough, and excommunicated all who were concerned in the matter. From the sentence of excommunication the king, queen, and their children were excepted. So rigidly did the archbishop enforce the excommunication that the king appealed to the Pope. Indeed, before this time, in the year 1251, some acts of encroachment of this sort on the Church turn up, but did not appear to have been sanctioned by royal authority. The Archbishop of Tuam found it necessary to complain that justice was not done his subjects: they were dragged beyond their own provinces. The archbishop went to England to forward the complaint.†

* Dugdale's *Mon. Anglic.*, vol. ii.

† "July 30, 1255.—King Edward writes to his eldest son in reference to the complaint of Florence, Archbishop of Tuam. He, on the part of himself, his suffragans, and all the clergy of Ireland, together with the Bishop of Killala, laid before the king certain grievances oppressing the Church of Ireland, adding that, unless the king applied a remedy, the Church, robbed of its rights and liberties, would be ruined.

"The archbishop complained :—'First, that they and their tenants are dragged, against the ancient liberties of their churches, into places before justices in other provinces, so that they must yield or be ruined by compositions; second, that some of the

As time went on attacks against the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops became frequent and systematic. In the year 1297, the Bishop of Down was proceeded against by *quo warranto* for exercising jurisdiction over pleas of the crown. In all lands of Ulster he claimed all pleas as belonging to his court —four excepted. These were treasure trove, rape, murder and hamsoken.* He was charged, too, with drawing up constitutions which were to exclude all Englishmen from livings in the Irish Church. The latter charge he denied, and added that, saving his episcopal rights, he threw open all his abbeys to Englishmen. He was accused of taking an eric for the death of an Englishman. But he pleaded in justification that his predecessors acted in like manner. When asked did he keep a coroner, he answered in the negative, but added that his seneschal discharged the duties of coroner. At the same time he acknowledged that the coroner had not sworn to the king. A nominal fine was got against the bishop. But because he pleaded precedent in justification of his conduct the fine was remitted. The cause of the king, however, triumphed.

In matters even which appeared to belong to the

king's sheriffs in plaints before them agree to share a profit with one party, by which the other party incurs loss, and is defrauded of its rights, and this the king bears grievously, because it presses not only on the clergy but on all the people of Ireland; third, that frequent attachments and summonses are issued against them; fourth, that Irish barons prevent Irishmen, faithful to the king, from bequeathing their chattels, and crusaders from fulfilling their vow when they will; fifth, that burgesses and their tenants are distrained to make suit in causes not touching the bishops or themselves.'

"The king commissioned his son to have these grievances considered and redressed."—July 30, 1255. Close, 39, Henry III., p. 1, m. 8, dor.

* It was somewhat akin to burglary.

bishop as spiritual judge the secular power interfered. To what extent encroachments were made on the Christian courts, we can judge from a letter addressed by the Pope to Henry the Third. Remonstrances from the Irish bishops had no effect with the king. Complaints were made to Rome. In consequence, Urban the Fourth addressed Henry in the year 1261. The Pope complained that in violation of an old and approved custom, the king did not allow the Archbishop of Dublin and other ecclesiastics to decide on monetary matters, on cases of possession, especially when there was question of a promise or oath between subjects; that he did not allow clerics to sue each other in their own courts;* that he arrogated to himself to decide on tithes; that the ecclesiastics were not allowed to punish usurers,† adulterers; that they were not allowed to decide what portion should be given to the wife on the event of a divorce or cases of slander; that they were not allowed to decide or enforce testamentary arrangements, wills or bequests; that the betagii (villeins) were not capable of making bequests; and that if the clergy hurl excommunication against the delinquent, the king's ministers did not allow it to have effect. The Pope concluded by saying, "That he

* Valentinian III. decreed that clerics might be tried before the bishop with consent of both parties. It was not allowed a cleric under the Gothic kings to appear before a secular tribunal.—*Con. Agath. Agdæ*, c. 32. "Episcopale Judicium ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus elegerunt, eamque eorum jurisdictioni adhibendam esse reverentiam jubemus, quam vestris deferri necesse est potestatibus, quibus non licet provocare."

† The property of dead usurers, so early as in the time of Henry II., was claimed by the State. That of living usurers was not, because they might repent. Twelve per cent. was the highest interest allowed by the Roman law. It was the "centesima,' because the principal was supposed to be divided into one hundred parts. One part was taken every month and paid to the creditor —so that twelve of the hundred parts were taken every year.

may not have to render an account to Almighty God, if the complaints be founded on fact he will commission the archbishop to proceed against all offenders by censures." What was the effect of this remonstrance is not mentioned. But if attended to for a time it was soon forgotten. At all events, in the year 1272, we find the king laying claim to the property of an usurer, Reginald Mactore, which amounted to £400. It was previously seized on by the Archbishop of Cashel.*

In the year 1292, the Bishop of Cork, because he tried pleas which were said to belong to the Crown, was fined in £130. While the English monarch endeavoured to withdraw all jurisdiction from the bishops as temporal lords in matters of fact, there were many cases involving sin or right which he allowed to be carried to the ecclesiastical courts. To these courts belonged, as admitted by the king, defamation, matrimonial cases, testamentary arrangements, violence to clerics, or a violation of ecclesiastical immunity; in fine, whatever evidently constituted a mortal sin. King Edward wrote to his justiciary in Ireland not to molest the ecclesiastical judges in reference to several matters. Adultery, fornication—a crime for which a pecuniary fine was inflicted (especially if the guilt of the defendant were evidently established, and if that defendant were a free man)—also the non-closing of a cemetery, or the leaving a church unroofed or devoid of decent ornament, all cases that entailed only a pecuniary mulct, questions arising out of customary dues and tithes, actions brought by the rector against the rectory for the recovery of the greater and lesser tithes,† pro-

* See App. JJ.

† Under the lesser tithes were included first-fruits, St. Patrick's ridge, a certain quantity of the first brewing of the ale.

vided the one-fourth were not demanded, questions on customary mortuaries, cases in which a prelate as defender of a certain church demanded a pension, cases of defamation with some limitation—all were conceded to have fallen under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court.*

From the foregoing classes of cases to which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was limited, anyone acquainted with the ample privileges given even in the Anglo-Irish charters will perceive a great abridgment of the prerogatives of the Irish Church. In one point, however, there appears to have been since 1268 a concession to the Church. Just now we saw that Edward directed the justiciary not to entertain any question in reference to a certain class of cases, which had been decided in the ecclesiastical courts. This appears to have repealed the 6th in the number of articles drawn up in the reign of Henry III. The article declared that a matter decided on definitively in the ecclesiastical courts, may with consent of both parties be opened anew in the king's court.†

The ecclesiastical and secular power came in collision in reference to visitations. It had been customary that the bishop in person, or by his commissaries, should go about annually and inquire about men's sins. If one could not clearly establish his innocence, he was at liberty to get twelve men who could vouch for his guiltlessness. By his orders the king's bailiffs issued instructions that no person accused of crime should otherwise than by his own hands‡ clear himself before the bishop's commissaries.

* *Registry of Palatian*, T.C.D.

† Though this regulation was made in England and without mention of Ireland, yet I consider it to have been applied to the latter country, as it was inserted in the registries of the primate. —*Registry of Palatian.*

‡ Harris understands the phrase "by his own hand" to be used

However, the king yielded the point, and the inhibition was withdrawn. Limited and defined with lawyer-like precision as was the influence of the Anglo-Irish Church in comparison to that enjoyed by the early Irish Church, yet it was year after year attacked and lessened. At first all the king required was that his writ would run in the bailiwick of prelates; that they could not decide on matters which involved the forfeiture of life or limb; and that they could not create barons.* In the course of time there was an effort made to withdraw from their courts almost every case that did not essentially involve sin. Down to the Reformation, however, in the sixteenth century, the exclusive right of the Church to dispose of testamentary, matrimonial, and defamatory cases was untouched and undisputed. The spiritual courts took cognizance of every act or word which was calculated to defame. They were admirably adapted to prevent the stinging word from being resented by a deadly blow. Tribunals for such a purpose, useful at all times, were peculiarly essentially so *then*, because in these real courts of honour, while the scale of punishments was graduated according to the shades of defamation, the opinion of the judges was formed not on false and often demoralising maxims of worldly prudence and fashion, but on the eternal principles of morality and religion. Every charge of defamation, from the most withering, blasting calumny to the mere harm-

in opposition to the twelve compurgators who were to swear to a belief in the innocence of the accused. This opinion is rendered most likely by the fact that Dantsey (Horæ Decanæ) says that twelve were required in Ireland to free one. Besides, in the year 1440, John Mey, archbishop, summoned a person to acquit himself of the charge of adultery with Agnes Herdman, and twelve men are mentioned in connexion with the case.—Mey's *Registry*.

* The king's writ did not run in the districts of the great palatines, who created the lesser barons.—Sir John Davis's *Hist. Relat.*; Hallam. *Cons. Hist.*, vol. ii., c. 18.

less expression of transient anger, received a calm discussion. It is wonderful how many cases of defamation turn up in the registries, and the grounds of such cases were the calling the neighbour by the name of "fool." What, however, gave employment to the officials of the courts Christian were testamentary and matrimonial cases. In the latter the witnesses to the marriage were produced; their age and condition were canvassed. Grounds for a divorce were stated and sifted. A peaceful cohabitation of both, or, in the event of a divorce, a pecuniary allowance was enjoined; and should there be an attempt on the one side to show that there had been no real marriage from the beginning owing to an existing impediment, or on the other to establish the validity of the marriage, the usual marriage ceremonial was made a matter of investigation. Let one example suffice. In the year 1454, Peter Warren and Jane Monteyn were respectively plaintiff and defendant. The competency of the witnesses to the marriage being established, they were asked, "Did John take Jane as lawful spouse and plight troth to her?" They answered, "Yes." They were asked the same question with regard to Jane. The answer was in the affirmative. They were asked, "Did John give his hand to Jane, and in turn did Jane join hands with John?" The answer was, "Yes." Then there was an inquiry whether they kissed each other after the marriage. The answer in the affirmative established that there was full consent on both sides.* Testamentary arrangements gave matter for daily employment to the ecclesiastical courts.

In the year 1429, excommunication was threatened by the Archbishop of Armagh, because the king's bailiffs, John Blissot and Roger Keppox, withdrew

* The questions put by the celebrant were substantially the same as are put at present.—Palatian's *Registries of Armagh.*

some testamentary cases from the spiritual courts.* Within a month after death, an inventory of the goods of the deceased had to be presented to the ordinary by the beneficed clergyman only.† Letters of administration were granted to the next of kin or to the widow. The widow generally was preferred, unless there were some special reason for objecting to her. It lay with the court to choose either.‡ That not merely testamentary cases, but even donations "*inter vivos*," down to the sixteenth century, were claimed by the spiritual courts, is made certain by entries in the registries of Armagh. In the year 1484, one Walter Verdun gave as a free gift £20 to Walter Fyntor and to his wife Joanna. By-and-by he wished to reclaim it; he said it was given only as a pledge. The husband and wife said it was given as a pure, irrevocable gift. Evidence was heard, and the court judged it to have been an absolute gift. The judge, before deciding against the reverend plaintiff—for he was a chaplain—keeping God before his eyes in the first place, and invoking his sacred name, concluded by recommending to the defendants a special interest in the chaplain, especially if he fell into distress. Furthermore, he pronounced it to be the duty of the defendants to see to the decent interment of the plaintiff, and that, should any of the £20 remain after these expenses, the remainder was to be spent on pious purposes.§

Unfortunately, it is the duty of the historian to notice deeds of violence and sacrilege done during the period under review. They were acts which we, not taking into account the temptations, and so far

* Swayn's *Registries of Armagh*, vol. i.

† Whether in the year 1518 the provincial council for the first time enacted this decree or merely confirmed a former one, I am not prepared to say.

‡ Cromer's *Reg. of Armagh.*

§ Palatian's *Reg. of Armagh*, vol. iii., p. 1115.

removed from the times in which they were done, may be inclined to think more suited to pagans on the first introduction of missionaries than to the children of saints. Indeed, they were confronted with heroic acts of religion; but, at the same time, they were sufficient to throw a dark shade on the most redeeming age. The annalists speak of them so surely accompanied with visible chastisements as the shadow follows the body. While the acts excite horror, the visitations which they entailed serve as lasting warnings. The churches were violated by the shedding of innocent blood at the hands of the English; and, after being a scene of slaughter, they were robbed of their property. But the annalists do not fail to inform us, covered as Bermingham was with the bell which he took from the church of St. Fechnan, that he met with a violent death.* The impartiality of the historian forbids placing such acts exclusively at the door of the stranger. The Irish also, on some occasions, made the sanctuary flow with the blood of its worthiest ministers. They came on the Prior of Kilmainham, in Glenderoly, and slew him with several friars. Nor is this the worst: even into the bishop's palace vengeance pursued its victims.† O'Neil slew sixteen of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of Tyrconnell, but was punished by the "miracles of God and St. Columbkille."

The thirteenth century was one of confusion and trouble to the Irish Church. One might not expect that it was calculated to give leisure or encouragement for the development of the intellectual faculties. However, it produced men who would do credit to any Church in that age. It produced able philo-

* *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad. an. 1261. † *Ibid.*, ad. an. 1263.

sophers and profound mathematicians, writers on general history, and most accurate writers of Irish history.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, a canon regular of St. Augustine of the Holy Trinity wrote the annals of Lough Ce.

In 1232 died Tipraite O'Braoin, a man deeply learned in theology and law. He died in Inish Clothrain, on a pilgrimage.

In 1215 were written the Annals of Boyle, so called because of a monastery built near where the Boyle falls into Loch Ce monastery. It was built by St. Columba, and called Eas mac n-Eirc. A Cistercian monastery was built near the old one in 1116, and in this place the annals were written. They are partly in Latin and Irish. They begin from the Creation, and come down after the time of St. Patrick.

In 1224, the Annals of Connaught were compiled in the Cistercian abbey of Boyle, and end in the year 1566.

The Annals of the Island of Saints, in Lough Ree, terminate at the year 1227. To this year, too, come down the Annals of Clonmacnoise, referred to by the Four Masters.

Gottefrid, a native of Waterford, who mastered Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, and Arabic languages, left, among other works, an *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* and a collection of sermons, and translated some of Aristotle's works into the French language.*

Matthew O'Heney, Archbishop of Cashel, who lived in the beginning of the 13th century, wrote the life of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarn. He also made a

* *Bibliot. Dominic.*; Brennan's *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii.

collection of the letters of Popes Innocent and Celestine III.* Ralph Bristol, Bishop of Kildare, in 1223, wrote a life of St. Laurence O'Toole. Maelmurry O'Laghnan, Archbishop of Tuam, wrote an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He died in 1249.† The annals of Boyle were written in this century by a monk of the Abbey. The annals of Multifernan were written in this century by one Stephen. The author lived till at least 1274, to which year his annals come down. He was a Franciscan, and was born in the year 1246.‡ William the Abbot lived in this century. He was "so famous," says Bayle, "that his memory is still preserved amongst us."§ The author of the office of St. Finian of Clonard flourished in this century. John Derlington, Archbishop of Dublin, wrote concordances, sermons, and scholastic disputations. He died in London, 1284, and was buried in the Choir of the Dominicans.‖ John Dunbleton, Scholar of Oxford, was Archdeacon of Meath. He wrote a book on logics and natural philosophy. He died in November, 1288. William de Hothun, Archbishop of Dublin, was the author of several works. He wrote *Glosses on the Four Books of Sentences, Questions on the Immediate Vision of God, On the Unity of Forms, Scholastic Lectures.* He died in 1298.¶ In this century, too, flourished Cornelius Historicus, Peter Hibernicus, the teacher of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the accurate compiler of the annals of Innisfallen. There were two, however, who of themselves would reflect credit on any age—Thomas Palmerston, born

* Ware.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Ussher's MSS.
§ *Ibid.*
‖ *Scrip. Brit.*, cent., xiv., n. 90.
¶ *Vid.* Ware's *Archbishops of Dublin;* Bayle, *De Ant. Cent.*, p. 224.

in Kildare; and John de Sacro Bosco, born in Dublin. The very titles to their works show the extent of their learning and the versatility of their genius. The latter wrote on the "Sphere," on "Algorithms," or calculations of the Year," a "Breviary of the Law," and several other things. The other, who studied at Paris, and afterwards in Italy, and flourished about the year 1270, produced, among various other works, *Flowers of the Doctors*, which evinced a thorough acquaintance with the Fathers; treatises on *The Christian Religion*, on *The Illusions of the Demons*, on *The Temptations of the Devil*, on *The Remedies of Vice*, on *The Flowers of the Bible*, and other writings.

I close this chapter by a startling entry. In the year 1284, Leger, Bishop of Ossory, acquired the lands of St. Kieran by duel.* The reader may stare and ask, "Can there be a mistake?" On such terms, however, do the annalists assure us was the land acquired. Of course the Irish canons strictly forbade clerics under pain of degradation giving or accepting a challenge.† Duels between laymen were inhibited by both popes and councils.‡ The more probable opinion is that the land got by the bishop was the result of a duel fought between De Vesey on one side and Kildare on the other. If such a supposition be well founded, we must argue that the practice of duelling continued longer in Ireland than in England.§

* Ware, p. 60. † Ware, *Antiq.*, p. 179.

‡ Innocent III. declared void all judgments by cold water, hot iron, or by duel.—Lib. III., ep. 107.

§ Sir Matthew Hale thinks that duelling was put an end to in King John's time, and that it was prohibited by an Act of Parliament in the 3rd of Henry III.

CHAPTER XVI.

THROUGHOUT the thirteenth century there were disputes between the kings' and bishops' courts; or, as they were styled, between the civil and Christian courts. Law and custom granted to the latter all cases involving sin. Often there was a difficulty in determining how much sin was directly concerned, for there was scarcely an action which did not more or less touch sin. But cases which from the custom of the age were allowed to belong to the spiritual jurisdiction had been drawn into the kings' courts. On the other hand, there were counter charges made by the representatives of the king. They complained that persons who belonged to the Archbishop of Dublin, from the mountains, assaulted the citizens in the market-place. The provost took cognizance of the matter, but the archbishop claimed the men, and would not have them appear in the court of the citizens, on the strength of a charter alleged to have been received from King John.* The citizens denied

* The king, through the citizens, complained of ecclesiastical encroachments. *Municipal and Historical Documents*, by Mr. Gilbert, p. 78.

Anno 1278. Nothing shows more clearly than an action brought by Eudo La Touche and Millisent, his wife, how the ecclesiastical law became part and parcel of the law of the land. "They claimed the presentation to a benefice, but the Bishop of Ossory appointed to the Church of Achebo. He defended himself behind the canons of Lateran, which declared all right of presentation forfeited if not acted on within a certain time. They insisted that it gave them six months to appoint, whereas the bishop proceeded to fill up the vacancy within four months. An arrangement was come to. The bishop consented to void the Church, and the plaintiffs remitted all damages against him."—*Rot.* Ed. i., No. 39.

the existence of the grant, and insisted that the trial should take place where the offence was committed.

These disputes, carried on by the bishops on one side, and by the king's justiciary or citizens on the other, were not the effect of passion or local prejudice. They appear to have their root in opposite principles, which were upheld respectively by the Church and State.* These disputes were the result of encroachments, which led by-and-by to the enactment of the famous Kilkenny Statute, and which ultimately led to schism and apostasy in the sixteenth century. At all events the disputes were not confined to the actors in Dublin; for during the years 1260,† 1261, 1266,‡ and 1268,§ the king and the Pope appear on the scene; and considering the moderation of the pontiffs in their dealings with the English monarchs, and the severity they recommended against the king's supporters, we should conclude, if for no other reason, that the privileges of the Church were being trenched on. Instances of encroachments by the king on the spiritual jurisdiction showed themselves unmistakably early in the thirteenth century. In violation of a charter obstacles were thrown in the way of ecclesiastical elections, with a view of securing the return of a creature to the Crown, and of enjoying the revenues of the bishopries while vacant. Lands, with which the piety of former ages endowed the Church, were taken away with an eye to military or political results rather than the good of souls.‖

The encroachments continued on one side, and murmuring and complaints on the other, till about the

* Alan's Registry, T.C.D., fol. 63.

† *Municipal and Historical Documents* by Mr. Gilbert. *Crede Mihi*, p. 93. *White Book*, p. 45.

‡ *Recorder's Book, Id.*

§ *Crede Mihi*, fol. 101.

‖ *Vid* App. JJ.

close of the century the ecclesiastics of every province, under a common pressure, rose up and confederated in defence of the liberties of the Church. As many as possible assembled at Tuam on the Feast of St. Matthew, in the year 1291. The meeting was designated the "Confederacy of the Lord Primate and the Three other Metropolitans of Ireland, and of their Suffragans, Deans, Clergy, and Chapters."*

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church, before whose notice this present letter may come, Nicholas, by the grace of God Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland; Thomas Meath, Nicholas Down, Peter Connor, Florence Derry, Matthew Clogher, Florence Rapho, Tigernach Dromore, N. Clonmacnoise, Matthew Ardagh, Florence Triburn, Bishop by divine permission; the Deans and their Chapters, and also the clerical bodies connected with those bishops who are without deans and chapters, everlasting health in the Lord.

"For the honour and praise of Almighty God,

* Previous to this, in August 19th, 1284, the archbishop was summoned to Drogheda, to appear to answer certain charges against him on the Nativity of the B. V. M.:—1st. That he appropriated to himself the vacancies of certain cathedral churches, such as Derry, Raphoe, and Cudlac, and of certain abbeys, and received the temporalities without the king's licence, especially in regard to Meath, where the Church, being *Metropolitan*, is in the king's hand in vacancies. So in regard to other churches in Ireland, suffragan to archbishoprics. 2nd. That he consecrated the Bishop of Meath, no licence being got nor fealty taken. 3rd. That he held pleas which belonged to the Crown. 4th. That he received his relatives and their maintainers, felons who were present at the death of Nicholas de Verdun, of John, his brother, and of the knights who were with them; that these relatives were present at the levelling of the Castle of Adlet, which belonged to Theobald de Verdun, and was of the fortresses of Ireland towards Connaught. 5th. That he coined money against the king's crown. The justiciary was suspected of leaning to the archbishop, as the latter promoted his brother to the See of Meath. —*Calendar of Papers, &c.*, by Sweetman.

Blessed Mary the Virgin, all the saints, and Holy Mother Church, be it known to you all, that we by a corporal oath made on behalf of ourselves and our successors, have entered into a mutual obligation to one another; and also that we shall hold ourselves bound by a similar obligation to our venerable brethren, John of Dublin, William of Tuam, Stephen of Cashel, by the grace of God Archbishops; to Nicholas Leighlin, Nicholas of Kildare, Richard Ferns, Michael of Ossory, of the province of Dublin; John Clonfert, Donagh Killala, Gelasius Elphin, Benedict Achonry, Laurence of Kilmacduagh, of the province of Tuam; Gerald of Limerick, Robert Cork, Richard Lismore, Maurice Killaloe, Nicholas Cloyne, Walter Waterford, G. Kilfenora, William Emly, . . . Archfert, . . . Ross, of the province of Cashel by divine permission, bishops:—That if we, or any individuals or individual of our number, or the Metropolitans of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, aforesaid, their suffragans, the deans and chapters belonging to same, or any individual among them, our churches or theirs, or any of their privileges, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, by us or our predecessors, them or their ancestors obtained of old enjoyed as belonging to said churches, or to any particular ones, or to any single one, shall hereafter meet with undue impediment, &c.

"We unanimously promise at our common expense, by subscriptions, according to the several incomes of the churches, to engage in prosecuting, maintaining, supporting the burdens of said parties before any judges, ecclesiastic or secular."

Then they promised to defend and indemnify any person so assailed in his goods, temporal or spiritual, or in his person. Besides, they agreed that if one be interdicted in any one place that the same should be observed in every place where the person so

interdicted may come, and also any place where the larger part of his property may be, provided due notice be given of the interdict having been issued. They, the archbishops, bound themselves under a penalty of 500 marks to the Pope, and 500 to the brethren who observe this agreement made under oath, and the bishops and others in 200 marks to the Apostolic Chamber, and 200 to their brethren not to be remiss in carrying out the agreement, that it bound those who did not affix their seals, and they pledged themselves to lay before the Holy See the conduct of those who neglected signing it."*

At the present time it is impossible to form even an approximately correct estimate of the wealth of the Irish Church during the middle ages. This happens from many reasons. When we are furnished with the proceeds from the benefices we are not told what did the temporalities of the see yield; and when there has been a return of the bishop's revenue in spirituals and temporals no clue has been afforded for arriving at the value of the benefices in the same diocese. Even when there has been a substantially correct account of the revenue in one, the statistics of another see are imperfect. Besides, the perquisites not only varied in a different, but even fluctuated in the same diocese. For instance, the taxation of Howth, in 1369, was £23 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1294 it was only £10. And then, supposing the facts ascertained, we often cannot agree on the deduction, on the value to be attached to the data, the value of money has been so differently estimated in different ages. The task is not unlike an attempt to work an equation when even one of the terms cannot be

* Swayne's *Registry*, fol. 51, A and B; *State of the Realm*, vol. ii., p. 328.

known. But though the wealth of the Church were ascertained to mathematical correctness, it is not less the duty of the historian on that account to notice the several sources from which that wealth was derived. These sources may be classed under the various orders of ecclesiastics, whose means of emolument were different.

In succession, then, I will consider the rector, the archdeacon, the bishop, and the archbishop. Though, from the coming of the English, an effort had been made by the Anglo-Irish clergy to have the regular payment of tithes introduced, yet they did not succeed till the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. For, in the year 1224, the tithe system was legally introduced. The 4th canon of the Synod of Cashel, in 1172, decreed, "that all the faithful do pay tithes of animals, corn, and other produce to the church of which they are parishioners." By-and-by the tithes got a more comprehensive meaning. By the 19th canon of the Synod in Dublin, in the year 1185, tithes were ordered to be paid from "provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things which grow and yearly renewed themselves." Nor did a tithe of fruit, or of such things as yearly renewed themselves, suffice; because, in the year 1214, Archbishop Loundres made a complaint to the Pope of the non-payment of tithes from mills, and labour, and other things. The payment, under pain of excommunication, was ordered by the Pope. With what effect the Pope's recommendation or orders were attended I am not prepared to say. Evidently, however, it made a most material difference whether the tithe system included the animal or vegetable creation, or even the produce of labour. And it is no less evident that the system of tithing varied not only in several

parts of Ireland, but even in the same diocese. In proof of this I will cite the constitution of Armagh. They bear particularly on the matter, and have sufficient general interest for the ecclesiastical historian. The preamble states that the regulations were sanctioned by the venerable Archbishops of Armagh, Ralph and Donat.* Amongst other ordinances it was decreed, "that the parishioners should for the future be made acquainted with everything which was preserved in the archives: lest, in the course of time, there may arise a dispute between them and the rectors. We decree that parishioners are to furnish the following articles:—'Extracts from the Lives of the Saints,' an 'antiphonary,' a gradual, psaltery, a collection of the several introits for Mass, an ordinal, a missal, a ritual, a chalice, dalmatics, tunics, chasubles, soutanes, antipendent with three altar clothes, three surplices, a rochette, a cross for ceremonies for the dead, two candlesticks, lamps, a bell for accompanying the Viaticum to the sick, a decent veil for Lent, a pax for the Blessed Eucharist, banners for Rogation days, a bell with a rope for it, a bier, a vessel for holy water, an instrument by which the 'pax' may be given, a stand for the paschal candle, a font, waxen images for the church, a large image inside the enclosure of the cemetery, the repair of books and vestments. Besides, we decree that no

* The first Donat we met with in Armagh previous to the date of the constitution was O'Fidabra, who sat in the year 1227. This was about the time of the legal establishment of tithes. Though the date assigned for these constitutions be 1328, in the reign of Pope Urban, yet, as observed by the learned editor of the O'Renehan MSS., they must be referred to 1378; because Urban sat not during the former, but the latter date.—Vol. i., p. 138. These constitutions throw great light on the discipline and economy of the Irish Church.

person, except the parish priest or vicar, or patrons, be buried in the church without the special leave of the rector or vicar. Let there be no games or markets, or contentions in a church or cemetery. Let nothing take place there but prayers and works of mercy. And, since disputes, and scandals, and hatred arise from tithes, owing to the *various customs in our diocese* of Armagh, we ordain that tithes of fruits be paid entirely to God, without deducting any expense; and of all fruits of trees, and of gardens, and of all seeds and plants. We likewise ordain that tithes from geese, and ducks, and chickens, and doves, and swans, and cranes, peacocks, and from all domestic fowl, and from wild beasts, from swine, and from all things, whether mentioned or not, which are renewed through the year, be duly paid. We also ordain tithes from woods, from large and small meadows. We wish that an obolus be paid for every lamb, and one lamb be given from six lambs at tithing time; or, if sold before that time, that tithes of tenpence be paid, and the same to take place with regard to the wool.* And, should the sheep be kept in one place in summer and in a different place in winter, that the tithes should be divided according to the time. If a person buy or sell sheep, and it be known from what parish they are come, let the tithes be divided; but if it be not known from what parish they came, the tithes shall be received by the parish in which they are shorn. We likewise ordain that tithes be paid from milk through the entire year as well in Lent as in autumn to the rector or vicar under pain of

* As tenpence would be paid for six lambs, something more than 1¾*d.* would be the sum to be paid for one lamb. Did this sum mean an obolus? The early and mediæval writers make it a farthing. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infirmæ Latinitatis scrip.*

excommunication.* We likewise ordain that tithes be paid of all pasture-lands, of fisheries and turbaries, and of all other works, from mills, bees, and all other profits, from all handicraft, merchandize, carpentering, masonry, weaving, from works in brass, and smelting, and from all labour. We likewise ordain that the rectors, under pain of disobedience and at peril of their soul, cause tithes to be offered to the churches four times in the year, and that the parishioners be reminded of their duty, lest through forgetfulness they do not pay tithes in the above manner. Failing which, let them be interdicted from entering the Church, and visited with ecclesiastical censures; let them be suspended if necessary, and sent after they make satisfaction for absolution to the bishop. And as disputes arise between the rector and the parishioners about trees growing in cemeteries—each party laying claim to them—we, wishing to decide such a matter, declare that by the Canon Law rectors or their curates can excommunicate those who detain property of this sort, as it is not a personal injury or debt, but an injury to the Church, of which there is question; because, since a cemetery, especially when dedicated, belongs to the Church, whatever is planted, or sown, or built thereon belongs to the ground; it follows then, necessarily, that trees in cemeteries must be ranked among articles of ecclesiastical property. Laics have no power to dispose of them, since no power is given them over ecclesiastical persons or things as Sacred Writ testifies. Priests only have the charge and the power of disposing of such things. But as trees are planted to secure the Church from the force of the storm, we forbid the rector

* This implies abstinence from *white meats*, and looks very like Protestant teaching.

or curate to cut them down indiscriminately, but only when the rails or the church may require repair. Besides, if the nave of the church require repair, and on account of the poverty of the people it be deemed a charitable thing to cut them down, we have no objection; but at the same we give no command to do so."*

In addition to the greater tithes, the rector received lesser tithes. These consisted of oblations—offerings made on Sundays and the principal festivals of the year. Offerings were made, too, at baptisms, at churchings, at marriages, and anointings. In some places first-fruits were received. Religion dictated that the first-fruits should be given to God in the person of the priest, his representative, in a spirit of thankfulness and hope that a blessing may descend on the whole produce. Holy Writ recommended, and the early Christian Church enforced the custom of oblation of first-fruits;† so, too, did the Irish Church adopt the practice. In the year 1453, first-fruits were ordered by the Archbishop of Cashel in a provincial council. This was done in support of an old custom, and in conformity with the other churches in Ireland.‡ Hence, perhaps, the origin in the Church of giving a gallon of drink to the pastor from every brewing, "Mary Gallons," a ridge of winter corn, and a ridge of oats from every plough, called "St. Patrick's ridge."§ A considerable source of profit, too, were mortuaries. Mention is made of them in the earliest canons of the Irish Church—they were a

* The witnesses to the document were, Rev. William Neal, John Strade, and Roger Hun, and John Whistle, notary apostolic.

† Irenæus and Origen speak of the practice of giving first-fruits. *Vid.* Bingham, ch. v., p. 282.

‡ Wilkin's *Con.*

§ Commons' *Journal.*

restitution of oblations neglected during life.* The lord of the soil got the best article, and the Church got the next best article of the deceased. It might be an animal or piece of furniture—the custom varied in different countries. In later times in the Irish Church four or six pence were required for every soul.† Besides, for every beef killed at a funeral the tallow and hide, and a quarter of the beef, and a tenth portion of the goods after the payment of debts were given. Wherever the decrees of the Synod of Cashel were in force, the third part of the movable goods went for purposes of burial. Of course a considerable portion may have been necessary for decent interment, and the entertainment of friends; but no inconsiderable portion, too, under the name of "funeral quarters," as we shall see further on, went to the rector of the parish. The revenue of ecclesiastics was increased by the control which the clergy claimed on the marriage of females. Thus, in the year 1264, Adam de Wadford promised to pay his lord the Archbishop of Dublin £20.‡ It was to be paid in two half-yearly instalments. One instalment was to be given at Easter, and the other at St. Michael's festival. The promise was made in consideration of the wardship, land, and marriage of Agatha, daughter of Meyler O'Toole. Again, the *Registry* of Alan mentions that brother Nigellus, Prior of All Saints, gave his assent to the marriage of John Woodlock. By reason of Williamston being held of him, Nigellus claimed control

* Mortuary was called soul-scot in the laws of Canute.

† Du Cange, Glossary. Blackstone (Commentaries) is wrong in tracing mortuaries to a neglect of tithes, because the former were known before the latter were heard of.—D'Achery, vol. ix. *Spicilegium*, Blackstone, vol. ii, p. 427.

‡ This agreement was executed in the sixth year of the Pontificate of Fulk, Archbishop of Dublin.

over the marriage as a matter of right.* License for marriage was so given by the prior that his successor shall raise no difficulty about the marriage of John or his heirs; on this condition, however, that the wardship which may ensue should belong to brother Nigellus; that such a control was exercised over them as slaves or betaghs† is very likely; for certain it is that slavery in a modified form at this time, and even down to the sixteenth century, continued in the Irish Church.

In the earliest ages of Christianity the lawful possession of slaves was recognised by the Church. Not only were slaves incapable of marrying without the consent of the masters, but even they could not embrace a religious life.‡ Christianity found slavery in society, and endeavoured to improve, and finally abolished it. The Church itself received grants of land on the conditions which formed an integral portion of the social and political system. If the Church accepted them with slaves, it was to improve their condition. In the words of Protestant historians, "the Church, in all ages and countries, was an indulgent landlord; and if it occupied one-third of the lands of Europe, it was a guarantee that the serfs would not be oppressed."§ Such had been the desire of priests to ransom slaves, that they were urged by them to run away. But to check disorder or dishonesty, the thirty-second canon of St. Patrick ordained that whoever caused a slave to abscond

* Alan's *Registry*, p. 404.

† In 1331, Edward III. says that the betaghs in Ireland should be governed by the same laws as the villeins in England. Rymer's *Fœdera*.

‡ The 38th canon of St. Basil says that the marriages were null, and even those of a slave's daughters. *Cod. Theod.*, Lib. III, lit. 7, de nupt. leg. 1.

§ Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, vol. i. p. 286.

should pay for his ransom. Pure slavery prevailed for some time in the Irish as in other churches; but from the twelfth century it gave way to villeinage.* Richard Pheypo gave to the Prior of All Saints, in pure and perpetual alms, Reginald M'Keligan, Christian M'Keligan, Murdach and Gillesman M'Keligan, with their services and offspring, and the lands of Ballaydoyle. In the year 1356, Archbishop Minot, of Dublin, claimed Simon O'Neil, who was styled citizen of Dublin, and acquired two carucates of land. Still later, in the middle of the sixteenth century, several O'Neils, with their children, and one Carroll, with his family, and William Nolan acknowledged themselves villeins.† Very valuable were the services of these villeins to the Church. The Book of Lismore regulates the amount of work due of the betagh. For every ploughland possessed he was to plough an acre for the bishop for wheat, another for oats, and to draw home the corn. Not only the villein, but even the free tenants paid services; so much so that the rent in money was nominal. It was really paid in services and in kind.‡ The rent in specie was generally fixed, but that in kind knew no limits while the lord was in want.§

* Pure villeinage, or slavery consisted in this that the slave did not know to-day what he might be called on to-morrow to do. The privileged villeinage specified the duties to be done by the villeins.

† *All Hallows' Registry*, edited for I. A. S.

‡ Montgomery, in his statement to James I., says that the actual rent was a mere trifle, and that 240 acres were given for 10*s.*, sometimes for 3*s.* 4*d.* The ecclesiastic went round to his tenants, and the king's officers did not meddle with Church tenants, but left them to the bishop's seneschal.

§ "Non debet dominus mutare censum antiquum," says O'Kane, the corbe of the Bishop of Derry, "sed si careat rebus necessariis, vaccis puinguibus, etc., debet ad nos mittere, et nos debemus illi

1. Some parishes had a vicar. He enjoyed in some parishes, as in Raphoe and in Derry, as much as the rector. In such a case, I suppose the duty was done exclusively by the vicar, who on all occasions was allowed about six acres glebe-land in contiguity to the Church. 2. Besides the sources of revenue common to the rector, the archdeacon in addition received synodals. Certain sums, varying in different dioceses, were received by the bishop at the yearly synod.* If in his absence he was represented by the archdeacon, the latter received synodals in some dioceses; in others he received something equivalent to them. In Ossory, the archdeacon exercised a prescriptive right over the diocese from the 30th of September to the 3rd of February, and received the moiety of procurations usually paid to the bishop in his ordinary visitations. 3. The bishop was possessed of the broad acres attached to his see; the temporalities were farmed. He claimed the services of the villeins, and the profit resulting from control over the marriages already mentioned. But the spiritualities formed no inconsiderable portion of his revenue. They generally went under the name of procurations, perquisites, and of synodals. Procura-

subministrare, nam quæ nos habemus, domini sunt et nos etiam ipsi illius sumus."—Ussher, vol. xi., p. 428.

In speaking of slaves and of their services, I have in view not simply priests who had not generally slaves and their services, but priors and abbots whom I class under rectors.

* For the diocese of Connor the decree ran: "Nos vero synodalia persolvemus Archidiacono et Episcopo, qui pro tempore erunt."—Reeves' *Down and Connor.*

The archdeacon of this time was quite a different person from the archdeacon of earlier times. In the latter he was among the deacons what the chief priest was among the priests. Afterwards he regulated even the clergy. The change appeared even in the ninth century, to some extent; but in a marked way it appeared in Gratian's time.

tion was the refreshment required for the bishop at his yearly or other visitations. On such occasions no inconsiderable sum, sometimes vast sums, were expended. The sum of money for which the procurations were commuted amounted in Connor to fifty marks, and to still more in other dioceses. It was a great sum for these times, but not great in comparison to the expenditure entailed by the procurations, because a numerous retinue accompanied the bishop.* When the visitation was made by the archdeacon, the bishop received in money what might have been spent on his entertainment. Thus, in the taxation of the dioceses of Ardagh, Cashel, Kildare, Ardfert, and Enaghdune, the procurations of the archdeacon formed an item.

1. In different dioceses the sum paid to the bishop varied. In the dioceses of Down, Connor, and Dromore, the sum ranged from two shillings to twenty shillings. This is true, at least of the fifteenth century.† 2. Perquisites, too, formed a source of supply to the bishop; found in connexion with chapters, they most probably meant the fees or emoluments to the bishop or his representative from the chapter held in each deanery.‡ Emoluments to the archdeacon went under the name of "jurisdiction," rather

* The third Council of Lateran, in 1179, found it necessary to decree that no cavalcade in the suite of the bishop should exceed forty or fifty horses; none in the suite of the cardinal should exceed twenty or thirty. Five or seven horses may be allowed the archdeacon, and two to the rural deans. There was a complaint made by the Prior of Bridlington against the Archdeacon Richmond, because he brought at his visitation ninety-seven horses, twenty-seven dogs, three falcons, and consumed more than would suffice for the community for an entire age.

† Reeves' *Taxation of Down and Connor.*

‡ Deanery was so called because it included ten prebends. The dean was so called because ruling over a deanery, or ten monks in a community.—Dantsey's *Glos. Archæol.*

than "perquisite," in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ardfert. The refection then prepared for the bishop at the rural chapters was commuted in process of time for money.* The sum paid for perquisites was in some dioceses the same as proxy money. The chapters used to be held only in country districts. Whenever the bishop was a prior of a house that house paid no proxy.† 3. The third source of revenue in spirituals came to the bishop from synodals. Formerly a synod used to be held at or before Easter. It was composed of the bishop, of the cathedral dean, who represented the collegiate body, of the archdeacon, and of the urban and rural deans representing the parochial clergy. The synodals, then, were the fees paid to the bishop at the synod; they were also called "Paschal Pence." Like the perquisites and procurations, they varied in the different dioceses. Early councils limited the sum to be received by the bishop in honour of the cathedral to two shillings from each living. Hence the word "cathedraticum."‡ The ancient Irish rolls show a shilling to have been a "cathedraticum" for a church, and sixpence for a chapel. However, in some dioceses, two shillings as cathedraticum were laid on a benefice.

4. The archbishop, of course, had the same source of revenue as the bishop. Besides, he received procurations on visiting his suffragans. Thus the procu-

* The Dominicans of Newtown were said "to owe to the bishop a refection, i.e., eatables and drinkables."

† King Stephen, in the year 1122, enacted: "Prohibemus ne Archidiaconus die visitationis suæ apud Ecclesiam quam visitat Capitulum celebret; nisi forte in burgo vel civitate Ecclesia sit constituta." Procurations were sometimes not required, as in the case of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.—App. Mason's *History of St. Patrick's.*

‡ Second Council of Bracara, in 572.

rations to the archbishop from the diocese of Dromore were two shillings and twopence from every mark. This sum would be about one-sixth of the revenue of the benefice. The archbishop, too, at least of Armagh, claimed, on the death of each suffragan, his ring and best horse. The Archbishop of Armagh, once on a time, went around the island and gathered what went under the name of "Patrick's Tribute." Since the coming of the English such a practice had been given up. At the same time, something like a trace of the practice may be detected in the archdiocese of Armagh, for in the year 1455 the primate, John Mey, addressed a pastoral to the bishops, abbots, and priests of the province. He put before them the claims which he and his predecessors enjoyed to the first-fruits of animals; the more so as the bearer of the canon of St. Patrick and guardian of the bell claimed such first-fruits in virtue of their office.* The primate insisted on his own claims being stronger, and added that the right claimed by him was not confined to the Archbishop of Armagh. He threatened with ecclesiastical censures all who would offer any opposition to the claims, which were founded both on custom and on the most ancient canons.

Another source of revenue to the archbishop, and even to the bishop, was the "episcopal portion." In the year 572, the Council of Bracara decreed that no bishop should receive a part of the oblations parochial, but only two shillings in honour of his see; but the first Council of Bracara, in the same century, speaks of the bishop's third part, or rather the fourth part. The quarters episcopal arose in the following manner:—Before the full establishment of parishes in the sixth century, all the churches in a

* Mey's *Registr*.

parish thrown up for the convenience of the people were subject to the bishop's church, which was called the "cathedral." The revenues of the district were divided between the poor, the repair of churches, the officiating clergymen, and the bishop.

Even after the Church was endowed, and the bishop's see enjoyed temporalities, the "quarters episcopal," given to the bishop as his sole support originally, were still continued.* In 1256, the Pope wrote to the Bishop of Killala, and granted to him the fourth portion of the tithes, which he and all the suffragans of Tuam were known to have enjoyed on account of their scanty revenues. In the diocese of Clogher, the bishop received one-fourth of the revenue from the spirituals and temporals, together with a rent from the termon lands. Two portions fell to the rector, and the other portion to the vicar. The erenach had cuttings and services from the ecclesiastical tenants, and kept three quarters to himself for purposes of hospitality. In some parts of Raphoe and Derry one-third fell to the lot of the bishop and to the erenach, or rather to the erenach entirely, for which he paid rent to the bishop. The second part was claimed by the rector, and the third by the vicar. Churches were kept in repair at the joint

* The following shows how scattered were the possessions of some churches :—"Nomina terrarum pertinentium ad Dominum primatem in Episcopatu Maionensi, Scilicet duæ villæ magnæ more Ultoniæ, et unaquaque villa continet sexdecim parvas et hujus nominis terra dicta est, sive terræ dictæ *Turlach* et Stirps Restardi Burk de turlach detinent prædictas injuste nullo jure nullo ve titulo.—Margin of page in the Calendar for November in the *Antiphonary of Armagh*, T.C.D.

"An exchange for a release and quit claim of the manor of Roscrea, with the advowson of the Church there, of three carucates and 84½ acres of land in the manor of Newcastle, near Lyons, to hold by the bishop and his successors of the king, with frank almoign for ever.—Chart. 8, Ed. I., m. 8.

expense of the three. In Armagh the rector had two-thirds and the vicar one-third of the tithes, while the bishop claimed certain mensal tithes from the lands adjacent to the town of Armagh. The erenach enjoyed no part of the tithes but the temporalities, for which he paid a certain sum. In a part of Tyrone the vicar and bishop claimed one-half, and the rector enjoyed the other half of the tithes. This was not generally the case, for we find in other districts of the same country that there was an equal division between the rector, vicar, and erenach.* Though in some parts the erenach enjoyed none of the tithes, yet we are informed by an inquisition taken in the time of James I., in Dungannon, that the estate of the erenach consisted not only of the lands but even of the tithes, which of course were given by the bishop. Where the succession of pastors was not broken, where there had been no usurpations, and when the bishop peaceably received his rents, then, indeed, no erenach appeared. It is scarcely material to mention, in reference to the revenue of the Church, that ecclesiastics sometimes were keepers of the Seal, or chancellors and treasurers and chief justices. The first generally got £40 yearly, but afterwards the sum was increased. The second received the same sum. The chief justice received yearly £500. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the salary for the Great Seal was increased to ten shillings per day; that of the justiciary, too, was increased.†

Another tributary stream which swelled this gentle tide of wealth to the Church, flowed from the ecclesiastical courts. It is no easy matter to determine what was the scale of charges graduated for proceed-

* Ussher *on Corbes and Erenachs.* † Harris's *Antiq.*, p. 96.

ings in the ecclesiastical courts. One item, however, in reference to the profits of administration receives strong light from an enactment in the year 1537. This was to carry out the provisions of an act passed in the third of Henry V., and in the twenty-first of Henry VIII. It prefaced by saying that as the people were poor, and as the demands for wills and probates were not lessened, it was decreed that the archbishop or his official should receive nothing for an entry of any will, administration, or for the perfecting any instrument in regard to those dying intestate or otherwise, whenever the goods do not amount to £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, Irish money. However, twopence were allowed to the clerk, and eightpence to the bearer of the seal. If the goods were valued at £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, then the official and the scribe received 3*s.* 4*d.*. If the sum to be administered for was over £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, but under £10, then the scribe received 1*s.* 8*d.*, and the ordinary or official got 3*s.* If the sum reached £10, but not £20, in that case the scribe received 2*s.*, and the official 8*s.* If the sum ran as high as £20, but under £100, then the scribe got 2*s.* 8*d.*, and the bishop or official received 14*s.* If the sum came to £100, the scribe got 3*s.* 4*d.*, while the official was entitled to 16*s.* 8*d.* But the bishop or official who refused drawing up an instrument, or making entry in the first-mentioned case of a sum of £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, or in violation of these terms under any circumstances, was for every offence fined £10. One-half of the mulct went to the king, the other part to the aggrieved party.* The gatherings at fairs and markets, too, tended to swell the coffers of the bishop, because a toll was required. For this a patent was got. Thus, in the fifteenth of John's reign, on the 30th of July, he granted leave to the

* Dowdall's *Registry*, p. 140.

Archbishop of Dublin to hold markets at Swords, during the festival of St. Columbkille. The festival had an octave, and so lasted eight days.*

The several sources of revenue to the Irish Church enumerated, I now endeavour to give some items of the proceeds from these sources as data for arriving at a conjecture as to the whole temporal value of the Church. Our guides shall be the papal and the royal valuations. The first is more accurate, but imperfect; the latter is fuller, but less reliable. In order to come at a knowledge of the wealth of the sees, in demanding tithes to meet the difficulties in which he was involved, Pope Nicholas IV. instituted a valuation of the sees and benefices.† In the year 1291, he addressed a letter to the Bishop of Meath, Thomas St. Leger, and to the Dean of Dublin, directing them to form an estimate of the value of the Church property. These ecclesiastics were thoroughly acquainted with the smallest items which generally went to swell the revenue of the bishop or of the rector. If the livings of the Templars and Hospitallers were valued, they were not taxed; their services and sacrifices for the faith were deemed sufficient to exempt them from contributions. In the year 1302, another assessment by orders of Pope Boniface VIII. took place. The collectors were bound by oath to execute their commission without fear or hatred. The lowest sum or tithe got from any benefice was 3*s.* 4*d.*; the highest did not exceed £30. The dioceses of Down, Dromore, and Connor were rated respectively, in spirituals and temporals, at £427 3*s.* 4½*d.*, £42 6*s.* 8*d.*, and £627 11*s.* 4*d.*‡

* *Monas. Anglican.*, vol. ii., p. 1049.

† Cobbett says that one Prime Minister received more money in one year from Ireland than the Popes ever received from it.

‡ Reeves' *Taxation of Down and Connor.*

Now, as Dromore is a ninetieth part of Ireland, if the wealth and system of taxation were uniformly the same throughout the Church, £42 6*s.* 8*d.*, the value of Dromore taken ninety times, would give the value of the Church.* This, however, would be a narrow and fallacious basis for generalisation, for there was the greatest contrast in point of wealth, not only between several sees, but even the several parts of the same see.

Taking even a larger basis, the three dioceses whose accurate valuations we have as averages, they too would be far from furnishing us with a correct return of the whole† If, again, we take the livings or benefices of the diocese to be five times as emolumentary as the bishop's revenue, the result would be different from either of the other two suppositions.‡ But the king's valuation of Church

* Supposing the value of money to be thirty times less now than in the fourteenth century, we must consider, according to such a valuation, the entire sum to amount to £150,000.

† The sum of the revenues of the three dioceses amount to about £1,096. Now as there were at the time thirty-five dioceses, taking the above sum as the average for three dioceses, the thirty-five dioceses would yield something about £12,786, and this multiplied by thirty (to make allowance for the decreased value of money) would exhibit £383,580. Some may think money forty times more valuable in the fourteenth than the present century; if so we should then have £511,440.

‡ The taxation of Nicholas IV. in 1291 (Cotton's *Fasti*) :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Cashel—The Archbishop's temporalities and spiritualities amounted to	146	1	0
Benefices—Imperfect.			
Kilmacduagh—Bishop's Revenue estimated at	33	7	9
Only a few of the benefices given.			
Emly—Bishop's Revenue	102	0	0
Its benefices	146	3	0
Waterford—Bishop's Revenue	22	13	4
Its benefices	23	6	0
Cork—Bishop's Revenue	40	0	0

property, though the fullest and most satisfactory, yet would be calculated to give a very false idea of the wealth of the Church.* Thus in the year

	£	s.	d.
Cloyne—Bishop's Revenue	123	5	0
According to another valuation ...	100	0	0
Its benefices	142	13	0
Ross—Bishop's Revenue	19	18	0
Limerick—Bishop's Revenue	163	0	0
Its benefices	201	12	2
Artfert—Bishop's Revenue	49	13	4
Its benefices	46	4	0
Dublin—Bishop's Revenue	170	19	3
Its benefices (*a*)	327	4	0

(*a*). In this valuation St. Michan's or St. John's revenue is not included on account of their poverty. In the year 1300 the see and its prebends were *valued at* £1,080 13*s.*, and in the year 1306, at £1,053 6*s.* 8*d.*

Kildare—Bishop's Revenue	72	9	2
Its benefices	121	16	4
Ossory—Bishop's Revenue	153	4	3
Its benefices	103	6	6
Though both are put down as amounting to	1,049	4	9
On this account I infer that in most of the other dioceses the valuation of the benefices was imperfect.			
Leighlin—Bishop's Revenue	53	18	11
Meath—Bishop's Revenue	211	13	4
Clonmacnois—Bishop's Revenue	4	19	0
Its benefices	5	10	0
Connor—Bishop's Revenue	50	0	0
Derry do	20	0	0
Ardagh do	13	0	0
Raphoe do	18	0	0
Clonfert do	66	13	4
Its benefices	16	7	0
Killaloe—Bishop's Reveuue	36	15	0
Achonry do	14	0	8
Tuam do	115	6	11
Enaghdune do	18	0	0

* The following valuation of sees was printed rather in modern times, but professed to follow estimates taken at a much earlier date :—

Meath in Temporalities yielded	£374	12	1½

1305, from March to July in the same year, the temporalities of the see of Down amounted to £67 9*s*. $0\frac{1}{4}d$., though for the entire year in the time of

Its decanates of Molingar, Foure, Loughsaidie, Duleek, Skryne, Trim, Slane, Kells, Colonard, yielded respectively—

£	*s*.	*d*.
61	16	0
49	9	3
139	6	1
241	4	8
53	4	0
84	14	0
67	6	0
208	13	0
68	18	0
100	17	0

In all—£1,072 8 0 Irish money.

		In Temporalities. £	*s*.	*d*.		In Benefices. £	*s*.	*d*.
Dublin,	rated at	534	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$	sterling	1,198	0	0
Kildare,	,,	69	0	0	do	607	8	0
Ossory,	,,	67	0	0	Irish money	676	19	2
Ferns,	,,	108	13	4	do	802	0	6
Leighlin,	,,	50	0	0	sterling	352	8	0
Cashel,	,,	66	13	4	Irish money	169	17	6
Ardfert,	,,	12	13	4	sterling	13	10	4
Waterford (*a*),	,,	72	8	1	do	308	7	0
Down,	,,	25	0	0	do	74	13	4
Connor,	,,	25	0	0	do	241	5	4
Derry,	,,	250	0	0	do	242	3	4
Raphoe,	,,	250	0	0	do	268	15	0
Kilmore,	,,	100	0	0	do	(*b*) 226	0	0
Dromore,	,,	50	0	0	do	79	6	8
Ardagh,	,,	11	0	0	do	(*c*) 81	0	0
Emly,	,,	26	0	0	do	106	0	0
Limerick,	,,	40	0	0	Irish money	201	13	0

(*a*). The foregoing are mostly valued in the reign of Henry VIII.

(*b*). Four pounds may be added, for Dromlane was valued at £8 and Moybolge at £10, instead of making both £14, as given in the Remembrancer's office for both.—Visitors' Book, T.C.D.

(*c*). Two pounds more are given by *Liber Visitationis*, in T.C.D., being set down to the account of Kilbrone.

James I., when money was many times less valuable than in the fourteenth century, were valued only at £25. The temporalities of the Bishop of Down in the taxation of Nicholas IV. were rated at £50, which as we saw, even in the reign of James I., were valued only at £25.* The king did not at all adopt the same perfect machinery as the Pope for coming at the real sources of revenue in every diocese; and his estimate even of the temporalities, of which he may be supposed to form a proper valuation, was far lower than what was struck for the papal archives—far lower than the real value.

In the taxation ordered by Pope Nicholas IV., only two dioceses show a full valuation of all the benefices. These are the dioceses of Dublin and of Ossory. The proportion of the wealth of the sees in these to that of the benefices is as one to five.† Now,

	In Temporalities.				In Benefices.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cork,	rated at	40	0	0 sterling	207	14	0
Ross,	,,	10	0	0 do	129	15	8
Cloyne,	,,	10	0	0 do	355	15	0
Killaloe,	,,	20	0	0 do	161	10	0
Tuam,	,,	50	0	0 do	104	14	0
Elphin,	,,	103	18	0 do	129	0	0
Clonfert,	,,	24	0	0 do	111	6	0
Kilmacduagh,	,,	13	0	0 do	44	7	0
Achonry,	,,	10	0	0 do	16	4	0
Killala,	,,	23	6	8 do	44	0	0

* From the Pipe Rolls of Edward III., we learn that the biennial tithes of Dublin handed in by the dean amounted to £259 9*s.* 1½*d.*; those of Cashel, to £145 10*s.* 7½*d.*; those of Armagh, to £105 9*s.* 1½*d.*; and those of Tuam, to £27 2*s.* 4½*d.*

† Indeed the king's valuation of the sees and benefices would give the proportion of one to three and a-half between both; but when it is considered that there was not the same facility of coming at the estimates of the priests' as at that of the bishops' revenue (for the latter consisted of rents and tithes principally, and then the revenue from anointings and other ministrations at the change of religion in the sixteenth century was taken away from

this scale would allow for the temporalities and benefices upwards of one-third of a million, and would square with that basis of calculation which before took the revenue of the three sees—Down, Connor, and Dromore—as averages for the rest.

With regard to the value of religious houses, if we take the opinion of a writer in the sixteenth century, in the year 1536, property of religious houses to the amount of £32,000 yearly was confiscated.* Only 376 houses of the 537 in Ireland in the first years of the Reformation were confiscated to make the £32,000. If we estimate the remaining 161 houses accordingly, or suppose the 376 houses whose value we have, to give an average value we must set down some £15,000 for the 161 houses. Taking the relative value of money into account we should put down the value of property in the hands of religious

the incumbents), it is not unreasonable to make the proportion between the sees and benefices in point of wealth in the fourteenth century as one to five. As I said, this is warranted by the taxation of Dublin and Ossory, the only dioceses which give a full return of the benefices. The revenues of the twenty-four sees, as given in the valuation of Nicholas IV., would amount to £1,710; but as eleven more sees should be given, then we may give £800 for them, taking the twenty-four sees, whose valuation we know, as averages. This would give £2 510 for all the thirty-five sees. Then, supposing that the sees bore in value to the benefices the ratio of one to five, the value of the sees and benefices would amount to £12,550; and, supposing the value of money to be thirty times greater then than at the present time, we should value the revenue at £376,500 of our money; or if it were forty times more than the same sum now, it would come to over £500.000.

* The 100,000 mentioned by Dowling as driven from 376 religious houses, must be a monstrous mistake for 10,000. And supposing that the secular priests were as numerous as the religious, Ireland would have had 20,000 ecclesiastics English writers state the religious in England at their suppression to have amounted to 50,000.—*Nicholson's Cyclopæd.*

as ranging from £140,000 to £190,000 * What the ecclesiastics received in kind was of valuable consideration. But even supposing that the revenues amounted in all respects from £750,000 to £1,000,000 of our present money, and supposing ecclesiastics to number 20,000, much money would not be left for disposal to each individual.† There were many benefices, but many of them were poor. Some did not exceed in value three shillings and fourpence. The ecclesiastics contributed more liberally than others to the necessity of the State. Whatever they got was obtained from those to whose spiritual wants

* A MS. in T.C.D., classed E 3, 8, p. 65, gives the following catalogue valuation of the Cistercian houses :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
St. Mary's, ...	1	0	0	Iniscourcey, ...	0	13	4
Mellifont, ...	1	0	0	Monasterevan, ...	0	6	0
Bective, ...	0	13	4	Knockmoy, ...	0	13	4
Baltinglass, ...	0	13	4	Grey Abbey, ...			
Boyle, ...	0	13	4	Cumber, ...	0	6	8
Nenay, ...	0	10	0	Tintern, ...	0	13	4
Athlone, ...	0	6	8	Corcumroe, ...	0	6	8
Newry, ...	0	6	8	Kilcooley, ...	0	6	8
Odorney, ...	0	3	4	Kilbeggan, ...	0	6	8
Inislaunagh, ...	0	10	0	Douske, ...	0	13	4
Fermoy, ...	0	3	4	Abingdon, ...	0	13	4
Maur, ...	0	6	8	Abbeylerha, ...	0	6	8
Jerpoint, ...	0	13	4	Tracton, ...	0	13	4
Middleton, ...	0	3	4	Moycassen, ...	0	6	8
Holy Cross, ...	0	6	8	Loughscudy, ...	0	3	4
Dunbrody, ...	0	13	4	Cashel, ...	0	6	8
Abbeyleix, ...	0	6	8				

† With regard to any estimate I may form of the wealth or number of ecclesiastics, I do so with great timidity. Great caution is necessary in receiving the figures or numbers given at that time. In the time of Edward III., in the year 1371, the House of Commons, in voting a certain sum of money to the king, calculated on the number of parishes to be five or six times greater than it really was. On that account only a fifth or sixth of what was promised had been forthcoming. I supply data which may leave others to halve or double my numbers. My object has been to help others in forming an estimate rather than dogmatically maintain any of my own.

they ministered. It was not an alien church, or a church without a people. Whatever had been given was expended on educating the young, in feeding the poor, and in maintaining the splendour of religion. Fleury informs us that there attended at the Council of Lateran, in 1179, an Irish bishop, who lived on the milk of three cows. These failing, the diocesans supplied three others. Such simplicity and apostolic frugality was exhibited in the lives of many of the Irish ecclesiastics. And so much was the property of the bishop looked on as belonging to the Church and to the poor, that he could bequeath only ten scruples to the priest who anointed him, a mantle to the poor traveller, some provisions to the widow, and an ordinary habit to his servant.

Whatever remained to ecclesiastics over and above their decent maintenance, had, by the canon law, to be given to the poor or religious uses. Hence, the Archbishop of Dublin, for instance, sought and obtained license to bequeath whatever was acquired by him of his movable property, and which had not been left for some special purpose of religion, so as to remunerate his servants, and friends, and relations according to desert; but the Pope suggested he should be liberal towards the churches from which he derived his revenues if anything remained.*

The following list exhibits a rather striking contrast, as befitting a spiritual lord, to the poverty of the conventual movables:—†

"*Cir.*, *July* 1*st*, 1288.

"Inventory of goods of the Archbishop of Tuam.

"*Tuam.*—In the wardrobe—1 silver ewer, of the

* *Theiner*, ad. an., p. 283.

† As a proof of how little movable property was kept by the monasteries, I give from the registries of Armagh an inventory of goods in the Convent of Athirdee, taken in 1470:—(1) A cincture of silver embroidery. (2) 6s 8d. (3) Thirteen forks (stipes).

weight of £4; 1 silver-gilt cup, with a cover, of the weight of 40*s.*; 3 cloths of gold, 12 striped cloths for esquires, 1 cloth for men of trade, 1 cloth for grooms, 33 furs with lambskins, 4 score and 9 ells of linen for tablecloths, 10 towels, 11 pairs of silken shoes, 5 score pounds of almonds, 30 lbs. of rice, 1 frail of figs, 1 frail of raisins, 10 lbs. of dates, 2 pieces *de cindone*, 4 ells *de carde;* in a chest 2 cups of silver, 1 white coverlet, 2 capes, 1 large bible, in another chest £100 of silver, ½ black cloth for the use of the archbishop, and 4 entire black cloths for knights and clerks, with fur.

"Pantry, or Buttery.—1 silver salt-cellar, 3 gold spoons, 12 large silver spoons, and 12 small ones; 5 silver plates, 1 silver dish for alms, 2 large silver ewers, 9 silver pots with covers, 1 gold plate with a gold cover, 3 gilt silver cups with feet, 2 small silver ewers.

"Kitchen.—2 large silver dishes, with 3 smaller ones; 13 small silver dishes, and 18 silver salt-cellars.

"Armour.—6 halberds and 2 coats of mail, 3 pairs of iron cuirasses, 3 pairs of new trappings, and 2 pairs of old ones.

"Stables.—1 large white palfrey, and another called hackney; horses called Syvet, Jordan, Feraunt of Trim, Baucan, Blaunchard of London, and 2 large

(4) Twenty-two books (Codex). (5) Cyclearibus IIII. doss (might this mean four dozens?). (6) Sixteen linen cloths with altar-cloths. (7) Two Murena. (8) Five stoles. (9) Six Rochets. (10) Four Caps. (11) A pair of one nott (?) of Vestments. (12) Four "Corporea Lectorum." (13) Five chalices, some chests, among which are a "Guarde de Vin," and some books. (14) Five palls, eleven towels, eight brazen jars in one box, four brazen pots, a frying pan, five hams, three pots of lard, four patenas, a kettle, ten dishes, eight salt-cellars, eleven old salt-cellars, eight dishes for the kitchen, eleven oxen, thirteen horses, seven heifers, six hogs, eight young pigs, ten kitchen utensils (scutella). It may have been a cover-dish, derived from "scutum," a shield. Each head of the cattle was valued at a few shillings.

horses called Constable and Bendur; 2 sumpter horses for the wardrobe, horses called Scampane, Black Obin, Feraunt, and Dunnyng.

"*Athlone.*—In the Chapel—1 principal vestment, 1 chasuble with a cross of pearls, 2 mitres and a crozier, 1 silver-gilt chalice, embroidered copes, a vestment for holidays, 1 silk antependant for the altar, 1 silk cope, 4 tuallie, 1 missal, 1 noted breviary, 1 noted gradual, 1 book of dedication of churches, another book of benedictions, 1 small bible, 1 silver censer, 1 silver vase for myrrh, 1 silver vase for holy water, with a silver aspersory; 2 silver ewers, 1 portable altar, 6 choir copes of Baudekin, with 3 of silk; 3 tunics, with a red chasuble; and 3 surplices. July 1st, 1288."*

* *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, by Sweetman.

CHAPTER XVII.

In connexion with the matter with which the last chapter closed, I will say a few words in reference to the law of mortmain as affecting monastic institutions. Anxious as the Church may be to encourage charity, it never thought it wise to do so either at the expense of the public good or in violation of individual right. While it wished to afford every facility for the doing of good, for redeeming one's sins, the Church wisely guarded against prodigal undiscriminating charity. The Theodosian code and the Fathers of the Church denounced that charity which was not regulated by prudence.* Mortmain, as implied by the root of the word, means a dead hand. It can get that name, because charity given at a dying hour is given, as it were, from a dead hand. Or more properly, perhaps, is the term traceable to the bodies to whom the charity is given than to the time at which it is made. Because whatever got into monastic bodies was dead, as it were, to the State. It never could fall under the control of the State even for a moment: since there was no interval or interregnum between the death of the occupant and the successor, religious bodies in the eyes of the law were supposed never to die. With a

* *Cod. Theod.* embodies a law by Valentinian, preventing ecclesiastics from getting the property of heirs, and also a law of Theod. St. Jerome, *Ep.* 2, *ad Nepot,* says: "I am ashamed to say that pagan priests and actors, and charioteers, and harlots can inherit, and that ecclesiastics and monks only are incapable, I am grieved that they required such a law." St. Augustine caused property to be restored which had been given to the Church.

view to prevent this result the law called "the law of mortmain" was passed. The law was not called mortmain, nor that mortain law passed in reference to sick-bed charity. There was no need of guarding against undue influence, in order to secure the rights of the surviving friends and children—for the common law provided for their rights. The law of mortmain was passed to prevent lands to which knights' service was attached being given during life, or at death to religious bodies; because in such a contingency the state or superior lords would suffer. They were deprived of those "incidents" peculiar to the feudal tenure—the "aid," which was given in difficulties; "reliefs," which were fines on the death of the feudal tenant; "premier seizin," a fine on the descent to the heir of full age; "wardship," which was the right of receiving the rents and profits of a fee during the minority of the heir; "marriage,"* which was a fine on the marriage of a feudal tenant; "fines on alienation;" fines for the lord's consent to the transfer of a fee, and "escheat" which was equivalent to a forfeiture of the fee—all these seven incidents were lost to the lord in all those properties which fell into the hands of monastic bodies. In addition to these heriots, too, were sometimes claimed by the lord. The claim was of a personal nature. It included the best in some countries, the second best horse or article of futniture in other countries. Sometimes it was commuted for money. And though given first as an act of grace, afterwards it was claimed as a right.† At first religious houses were endowed in pure and perpetual alms.‡ Afterwards the lands attached to

* Sometimes £5,000 were demanded by and given to the king for consent to marry. Occasionally male and female gave moneys to the lord for the same marriages.

† Bracton, 1, 2, ch. 36. Blackstone, vol. ii.

‡ *Monastic. Anglic.*

the houses were given often only for a term of years, and for a certain consideration. But even with these restrictions, the law of mortmain guarded against the indiscriminate transfer of lands to religious. The law was in force not only in England, but in Ireland.* There are frequent instances of prosecution for violation of the law; not that there was any, the least hostility to charity. Not that the State wished, as modern writers would have it, to guard against undue influence at the hour of death: for most of the foundations took place during life. The great object had been to secure services to the State, and profits to the lord. Religious donations made by the Irish princes were on the coming of the English subjected to secular demands. And as to future foundations, their unrestricted multiplication was guarded against by the jealousy of the king and the avarice of the barons.†

* W. F. Finlason, of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law (*Laws on Mortmain*), does not wisely deny that the mormain law applied to Ireland. In 1300, the Prior of Drogheda, Prior of the Augustinian Canons, was summoned for appropriating the burghage in the neighbourhood to the monastery against the statute of mortmain. In 1281, the Earl of Norwich distrained the Prior of Great Conall, county Kildare, for not attending service. He pleaded, as grounds for a refusal, that the house was given in free and perpetual alms; showing that otherwise the lands were subject to demands. During the incumbency of the illustrious Mælisa, about the year 1289, he purchased several lands for the Church. This was against the statute of mortmain. But the king granted him pardon. At the close of the twelfth century Walter Butler granted to the Abbey of Arklow an exemption from secular demands; otherwise it would have been subject to them.—*Monastic. Anglic.*, vol ii. Henry III. granted to the Archbishop of Cashel, in free alms, Cashel without imposts.—M'Geoghegan, 312. I will cite from time to time instances of prosecution for the violation of mortmain laws, to show that the position taken by Mr. Finlason is not tenable.

† *Monastic. Anglic.*, vol. ii, p. 1,209.

Notwithstanding the many demoralising and distracting influences at work during the latter half of this century, we find in reading over the annals numerous instances of pilgrimage, often attended with danger, sometimes with loss of life. One is struck at the many examples of retirement from the world on the part of the powerful and the high-born. And were it not for the deep religious penitential spirit which always characterized the Irish, one may think that it was the sufferings and confusions of the times which disgusted them with the world, and chastened them for the rules of a monastic life. In the year 1224, Cormac M'Dermott died in the habit of the Grey Frairs, overcoming the world and the devil. Felim O'Connor died in the year 1265 in a monastery of his own founding at Roscommon. After the victory of repentance, Christina, wife of M'Dermott, died.* To the readers of the Irish annals such notices are familiar, and turn up almost in every page; but if the Irish were religious, it was not much owing to the English invaders. These took little pains, gave but poor help to make them religious, or to reclaim them, in the cant language of the day, from an unchristian life and filthy conversation. From the highest to the lowest the invaders were tyrants. We find the chief justice accusing the Earl of Kildare as a thief and murderer; and the latter reproached the chief justice as traitor. Both may be right, but it was a scandalous scene in the council board. Abusive language was unsparingly used on both sides. Swords were drawn; and till both left the country it had no peace.†

On entering the fourteenth century one is struck by the frequency of demands on the clergy for sup-

* *Annals Four Masters*, ad an. 1268. † Campion.

plies. The clergy gave a grant of tenths to the king. Hotham was collector.* But never was a grant with a worse taste asked, or with more folly given than such a subsidy. For, at this time, and on to the wars of the Bruces, the clergy and people of Ireland were groaning under the heel of tyranny. Did a bishop incur debt in supporting dignity thrust on him as justiciary, or in any other civil employment by the king, for this debt his successor was made responsible. His goods and ecclesiastical property were seized by the king.† The clergy had reason to complain that, in violation of custom and canon law, they were dragged before the civil tribunals. Grave authors state that, in the moral code of the English, it was put down as no sin to kill a mere Irishman. A mere Irish dress was sufficient to mark one out for destruction. Hence, so far from preaching up an inoffensive, Christian carriage as a means of avoiding punishment, the English rulers guarded their people against the assumption of an Irish dress lest death may be the consequence from their own body. A merely nominal fine was put on an Englishman for the murder of an Irishman; whereas, the like crime against an Englishman was visited with the death of the Irishman. The retainers of the barons lived amongst the people, laying them under awful contributions, sparing neither the sanctity of the marriage-bed nor the sanctity of the daughters. But, as there had been presented an authentic pathetic statement of these grievances to the Pope by O'Neil, King of Ulster, I will make no apology in giving it as far as

* Cox, however, says, in order to damage the Irish Church, that the application from the king was refused, though the Irish clergy had been liberal to the Pope in aiding him against the King of Arragon.—*Liber Munerum.*

† *Liber Mun.*

it bears on our subject.* "To our Most Holy Father, John, Sovereign Pontiff, from Daniel O'Neil, King of Ulster, from the nobles and all the people of the land:—'The clergy and people of Ireland have, therefore, now for these many years, been placed in a position of the most serious and awful danger, not only in regard to the transitory interests of the body, but also the salvation of their souls. For we hold it as an undoubted fact that, in consequence of the aforesaid *false suggestion, and the grant thereupon founded*, more than 50,000 persons of the two nations (from the time when the grant was made to the present time) have perished by the sword, independently of those who have been worn out by famine or destroyed in dungeons.† . . . Know, further, Most Holy Father, that Henry, King of England, to whom the grant was made, *allowing* him to invade Ireland in the aforesaid manner, and likewise the four kings who succeeded him, had plainly trangressed the limits of the conditions on which the grant was made to them in the papal bull, according to the distinct articles contained in it, as it is clearly evident from a reference to the substance of the bull itself. The calamities and misrepresentations under which we suffer from the English are too

* It was written in the year 1316. Ussher, *Chronol. Ind.* The clergy are not mentioned as complainants. At the same time it is not unlikely the document was written by an ecclesiastic. It was thought that the Pope may less ceremoniously treat the ecclesiastics than the nobles; besides, the clergy were in bad odour for being supposed to have urged the people to rebellion.

† During the residence of Bruce in Ireland, the people were visited with the complicated miseries of faction, war, and famine. "Many," says Camden, "were so hungry and starved that in churchyards they took the bodies out of their graves, and in their sculls boiled their flesh and fed thereon: yea, and women did eat their own children for stark hunger.—Ad. an. 1315.

What a pity the Pope's advice had not been taken!

well known through the world not to have reached your Holiness. Most Holy Father, we are persuaded that your intentions are pure and upright; but from not knowing the Irish, unless through the misrepresentations of their enemies, your Holiness might be induced to look on as truth those falsehoods which have been circulated, and so form an opinion different from what we deserve. Such a circumstance would be to us a great misfortune. It is, therefore, to save our country from foul and false imputations that we have come to the resolution of giving you a correct idea of our monarchy—if, indeed, this term can be applied to the sad remains of a kingdom which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of English kings, of their ministers, and of their barons. Some of the latter, though born in our island, continue to exercise over us the same extortions, rapine, and cruelties as their ancestors inflicted. We advance nothing but the truth, and hope your Holiness will express your disapprobation of such crimes and outrages. . . . .* During 3,500 years 136† kings, without any admixture of foreign blood, have been possessed of the kingdom of Ireland down to the time of King Leogaire, from whom I, the aforesaid Donald, have derived in a direct line my origin according to the flesh; in whose days, also, our chief apostle and patron, St. Patrick, commissioned by your predecessor, Pope Celestine, according to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, became a missionary to our forefathers, and was most successful in his efforts to in-

* Then the statement enters into an account of the colonisation of Ireland, and comes down to the invasion of Ireland by the English.

† In a postscript it is stated that the kings of *Scotia Minor*, like our own in language and manners, have derived their blood from the kings of our island, *Scotia Major*.—Fordun, *Scoto Chronicon*.

struct them in the truths of the Catholic faith. And subsequently to the time when the faith was preached and received among us, a series of monarchs, to the number of sixty-one, who, in *temporals*, acknowledged no superior, inherited successively the same throne to the year 1170; all of them of the same stock without any intermixture of foreign blood, princes who lived in humble obedience to the Church of Rome.*

"It is to Milesian princes, and not to the English, that the Church is indebted for these lands and possessions and high privileges with which the pious liberality of our monarchs enriched it, and of which it has almost been stripped by the sacrilegious cupidity of the English. His Holiness, Pope Adrian, by birth an Englishman, but still more so in *disposition*, early imbibed natural prejudices, and so strongly that on the strength of false statements he transferred the sovereignity of our country to Henry II., the probable murderer of Thomas à Becket. When the English came amongst us at first they showed every mark of zeal and piety. But well skilled in hypocrisy by degress and imperceptibly they undermined and supplanted us. Emboldened by their first success they soon threw off the mask, and obliged us, by open force, to give up to them our houses and lands, and take shelter like beasts on the mountain, in the woods, marshes, and caves.† Even *there* we are not safe. They envy us these dreary abodes. They endeavour to chase us from them. They allege that every inch of ground in our island belongs to them of right, and that no

* Here is direct testimony of the subjection of the Irish Church to the Apostolic See.

† There were at this time four towns governed by mayors—Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Ross. There were three royal burghs, with a reeve and bailiff—Kilkenny, Drogheda, and Trim. The other towns belonged to their respective lords.—Rymer, iii., 510.

Irishman should be found in the land. Hence the deadly hate, the pillage, and sufferings, a state of anarchy fatal not only to the State, but even to the Church, whose members *now*, more than ever, are in danger of losing the blessings of eternity after the loss of all bliss in this world. . . . Henry II. engaged to increase the revenues of the Church; to maintain it in its rights and privileges; to enact good laws; to reform the morals of the people; to root out vice; to plant virtue; and to pay to the successor of St. Peter one penny for each house. These promises and conditions have not been observed. And, firstly, with regard to the Church lands, they have been curtailed, so that some of our cathedrals are deprived of half of their revenues. The persons of their clergy were as little respected as their property. On every side we see bishops summoned, arrested, and imprisoned by the King of England; and such is the oppression exercised towards them that they dare not inform your holiness. However, as they do not in their dastardliness dare to speak for themselves, so they do not merit that we should.'" . . .

The document goes on to detail the enactments by the English: "1st. Every man who is not Irish may drag the Irishman into a law-suit; while no Irishman unless a prelate can have recourse to the laws against an Englishman. 2nd. If any Englishman kill an Irishman perfidiously and falsely, as often happened, of whatsoever rank, innocent or guilty, plebeian or noble, prelate or priest, regular or secular, he cannot be brought before the English tribunal. The more worthy a victim may be, the more his murderer is extolled not only by the magistrates, but even by the priests and bishops. 3rd. If any Irishwoman marry an Englishman, on his death she is deprived of the third of the property merely for being

Irish. 4th. If an Irishman fall by the hand of an Englishman, the said murderer can prevent him from making a testamentary arrangement, and seize his property. 5th. The same English tribunal, with the co-operation of some bishops presided over by the Archbishop of Armagh, a man of very little repute for his behaviour and of less for his learning, made the most unjust regulations at Kilkenny. They prohibited all religious communities from admitting any but a native of England in those parts of which the English are in peaceful possession. Otherwise they were deemed guilty of contumacy of the king's orders. Such a regulation was little needed, as, even before its enactment, its spirit was carried out in regard to the Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, and regular canons. This was the more shameful, as houses for the Benedictines and regular canons were intended by their founders to be thrown open to all indiscriminately."* Then, having spoken of the determination of the English to effect the destruction of the Irish by craft and perfidy, the writer gives instance of treacherous butchery employed against the Irish in violation of the most sacred laws of hospitality. "Peter Birmingham murdered his own kinsman Maurice de Santa Cruce and his brother at a banquet, to which he invited them on the feast of the Holy Trinity. Lord Thomas de Clare invited Brian Roe O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, and had him torn from the banquetting table and his head cut off. Earl John dealt in the same way towards John, son of Calvagh, a most worthy individual, and whom he had received from the baptismal font, and had been after always reared with himself.(1) . . . It is not merely the laics but

* Fordun, vol. iii., 28.

ecclesiastics who assert it is no sin the killing of an Irishman. This was shamelessly put in practice by the Cistercian Order of Granard in Armagh, and by those of the same order at Inch, in the diocese of Down. For making their appearance publicly in arms, they invade and slaughter the Irish people, and yet celebrate Mass. In like manner, Friar Simon, of the Order of Minors, full brother to the Bishop of Connor, is one of the chief supporters of that heresy. . . . Seeing that in their circumstances and language, as well as in their actions, they are aliens to us and other people, so that the keeping of peace with them after their slaughter and pride is out of the question.

"Then, as to the Court of Rome, the Peter Pence out of each house has not been paid, as had been promised. . . .

"Furthermore, the statements which are here inserted and the recital of outrages detailed we are prepared to verify by the testimony of twelve bishops at least, and also of several other prelates, duly proven,* according to time and place, as we have a right to demand, not like the English, who are never willing to abide by any just law, . . . who contemptuously disregard alike the divine authority and that of the Court of Rome, *which we regard as the same ordinance.* . . . Therefore, in consequence of unparalleled outrages in violation of solemn pacts, they are prepared to defend themselves; and, the more effectually to do so, they have transferred their rights and kingdom to Edward Bruce, the illustrious Earl of Carrick. . . . He is prepared to render to everyone his just dues; but, above all, he is fully ready to make to the Irish

* We can see from the number of bishops what was likely the amount of sympathy had from the native hierarchy.

Church ample restitution of those possessions and privileges which she had been damnably deprived of. It is his intention to endow her with greater immunities than she had ever previously enjoyed. May it please thee, therefore, most Holy Father, to prohibit the King of England from further molesting us; or, at least, be graciously pleased to enforce from him for us the due requirements of justice."

The Pope was not deaf to the voice of the oppressed, but addressed the following letter to the king. After the usual greeting, he said:—

"Know, then, son, that we have received a certain letter directed, in the first place, from the Irish nobles and people to our sons Anselm, priest of the title of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, and Luke, deacon of St. Mary's, in *via Lata*, Cardinal Nuncios of the Apostolic See, and by them enclosed to us in a letter of their own, in which we see it stated, among other things, that, whereas, our predecessor Adrian, Pope of happy memory, did in a certain mode and form of grant, which was distinctly specified in his apostolic letters, drawn up in that behalf, convey to your predecessor, Henry, King of England, of illustrious memory, the supreme dominion of Ireland, that king himself and the Kings of England, his successors, even to the present time, failing to observe the mode and form so set forth, have, in violation of them for a long time past, kept down that people in a state of intolerable bondage, accompanied with unheard-of hardships and grievances. Nor was there found during all this time any person to redress the grievances they endured, or be moved with pity for their distress, although recourse was had to you in regard to them, and the loud cry of the oppressed fell sometimes, at least, on your ear. In consequence whereof, being unable to support such a state, they have been

compelled to withdraw themselves from your jurisdiction, and to invite another to come and rule over them. Now, dearly beloved son, statements of this sort, if supported by real facts, must be the more painful to our feelings, considering the intense desire we have that prosperity would attend all your undertakings. Duty requires that you should give your earnest attention with zeal and readiness to the introduction of such measures as may be acceptable in the sight of God, and that you should scrupulously refrain from all courses as would provoke the anger of God, to whom vengeance belongs—who never disregards the groaning of those unjustly afflicted, and who is described as having rejected his own peculiar people, and transferred their kingdom to others on account of injustices of which they had been guilty.

"How much more in accordance with our anxious desire would it be, especially in troublous times as these, to see you give ready attention to such measures as may incline the hearts of the faithful people to cherish towards you feelings of obedience and good-will, and avoiding utterly all such courses as may alienate their devotedness to you.

"Seeing, therefore, son, that it is of no small advantage to escape the inconveniences which may arise with a charge so serious, and that it is expedient in the highest degree that these first beginnings of disturbance would not be overlooked, lest afterwards, when they have increased to a dangerous extent, it may be too late to set about a remedy for the disorder; we, therefore, by these presents, earnestly beg of your Royal Excellency, conscious of the soundness of the advice we give you, that you take these things into consideration, and confer on them in discreet council, and proceed to command and enforce the

correction of said grievances in such modes as is proper, thus providing a check for the dangerous beginnings, and gaining the approbation of Him by whom you reign, and removing all grounds for just complaint, that so the Irish, following more wholesome council, may render you the obedience due to their Lord; or, if (what heaven forbid) they shall be disposed to persist in foolish rebellion, they may convert their cause into a matter of open injustice, while you stand excused before God and man. In order that your mind may be the more satisfactorily enlightened on these matters on the said grievances and complaints on which the Irish are founding their appeal, we send your Majesty enclosed in these presents the above-mentioned letter, directed to the cardinals, with a copy of the letter of grant, which the said Adrian, our predecessor, addressed to said Henry, King of England relative to the land of Ireland."

Though the supreme Pontiff did what was possible to alleviate the sufferings of the Irish, he was thoroughly opposed to recourse to arms on their part, knowing the folly and mischief of such a step. Nor was the advocacy of such a step by the Archbishop of Armagh likely to remove the Pontiff's objections.

"John XXII., in the year 1322, commissioned the Bishops of Meath, of Down, and of Cluain to cite the Archbishop of Armagh, because, in violation of his oath, he, Roland, refused paying the customary service or tribute to the apostolic Chamber, and so brought on himself personally sentence of excommunication, and had remained under it for five years, and while in that state consecrated Gelasius of Clogher, and also refused publishing sentence of excommunication against the adherents of Robert Bruce, and not only so, but absolved a certain noble-

man, named Columba, a notorious supporter of Bruce, and had so incurred excommunication."

He also acted in defiance of an appeal made to the Holy See in regard to his conduct. When Robert of Cotegrune, perpetual vicar of Termonfechin, which belonged to the prior and convent of St. Mary's, of Lunech, which used to be governed by a prior of the Augustinian Order, demanded before the Archbishop that the ancient portion should be increased for him by the prior and convent, and an appeal on legitimate grounds on the part of the prior and convent having been made to the Apostolic See, he conferred the church on the vicar, ordered the prior to be imprisoned by the secular arm, and the monastery to be stripped of its movable property.

He is said to have flogged, or caused to be flogged, a priest bearing the tonsure, named Alan; another, named Nicholas, he wounded, or caused to be wounded; a certain silver and gilded image of St. Michael, a holy-water vessel, with aspersory, incense, thurible, and several silver chalices of the Church of Armagh, to have pledged, without the consent of the chapter, all the pontificals of the church brought from the chapel and pledged for a sum of money, and no hope of being restored. The roof or timber of the houses of a manor of said church and that of a chapel of a manor is said to have been sold to a certain knight and soldier, besides other sequestrations.

"Religion is so neglected that the people of the city and husbandmen have turned the church into a barn, and the same has been done to other churches, and have been profaned by the shedding of human blood. Ecclesiastical property, animals, clothes, and vessels have been plundered because of the neglect of the archbishop, who did not use his authority. Some laics of Armagh are also known to have committed

adultery and incest with their kindred,* while a word of reproof did not escape the archbishop, not being able to speak the Irish language. Himself is said to labour under a tainted reputation.† He allowed a noble to separate from his wife and take another woman for money, and received money for not visiting the diocese of Derry and Dromore."‡

In writing to them, the Pope commissioned them to cite the archbishop, and in the meantime to administer the diocese.

Turning to the south, we find there, too, the sad effects of the wars of the Bruces.

The Bishop of Limerick, in the year 1376, was commissioned to punish, by excommunication and interdict, all who violated ecclesiastical liberty. The Pope, Gregory XI., says he learned from frequent complaints that some children of iniquity in the city and diocese of Emly, under pretext of wars, from which the said diocese and town are said to suffer, are represented as having seized on clerics, secular and regular. Even dignitaries, though not at all mixed up with the wars, they detained in prison, subjected them to tortures, flogged, wounded, put to death, and subjected others to unfair ransoms Then, as to churches, monasteries, hospitals, and other pious places, they attacked, broke open, seized, and burned, with the books, chalices, crucifixes, relics of saints, vestments, and ornaments, and profaned them, so that the clerics are scattered, ecclesiastical property plundered, people deprived of sacraments, and the

* Commatribus.

† De quadam Christina et de alia in Drumeskin cum quibus crimen fornicationis dicitur commississe, duos pueros procreasse.

‡ He was also accused of perjury; for, looking on the holy Gospels and holding his hand on his breast, he is said to have sworn to do nothing of importance without consulting the chapter. —Theiner, *Vet. Monum.*

poor of support. Some glory in doing these things, others have ordered these excesses, and others have abetted those who did them.

So, too, in Waterford, we find the sad results of the war to religion.

The prior of the convent of St. Mary's, though exempted by law of the Augustinian Order, was despoiled of his convent by laymen. The principals were Robert Dobin, Thomas England, Henry Gillis, William Gillis, Philip Prodon, Galfrid Roche Dobyn, and John Arnauld. In addition to the seizure of the convent property, they wounded seriously one Stephen, they inhumanly killed another, and, having flogged a third, they pulled out his eyes and cut off his tongue. These three were members of the community. Of course, the Pope, as usual, had to step in and check the lawlessness of the powerful. This happened at Inistiogue, where Stephen was prior.

Such had been the confusion consequent on the wars that it had been difficult to find competent persons to fill the cathedral churches. Hence, in application for a dispensation in the impediment of birth in the case of John O'Grady, of Killaloe, in 1358, it was stated that there was a want of fit men, even for inferior churches, not to speak of cathedrals.* So, too, in the year 1343, the Archbishop of Cashel is empowered to dispense twelve in the impediment of illegitimacy, if Irish,† on account of the wars, so as to be promoted if well conducted, provided neither parent had been married.

The Popes, foreseeing the evil result to religion

* O'Grady was a bachelor in civil law and a cleric. The application, backed as it was by the recommendation of the Bishops of Killaloe, Ossory, and the Archbishop of Cashel, was successful.

† "De terra Hiberniæ oriundis." *Vid.* Theiner. ad an. *Veter. Monum.*

from an invasion, and not seeing the advantages of exchanging an English for a Scottish lord, opposed the cause of the Bruces from the beginning.

In the year 1317, writing to the Archbishops of Cashel and Dublin, the Pope speaks of the scandals, the murders, conflagration, sacrileges, and rapine as the result.

So anxious was the Pope to give rest to our unfortunate country that, in 1320, in the month of August, he published a truce of two years between the king and Robert Bruce, and decreed excommunication against any, of whatsoever dignity, who would violate it.

I should have observed that the Pope, not merely on prudential considerations, but even for conscience sake, would have the Irish turn away from the cause of the Bruces. On that account he wrote to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel to commission all rectors, chaplains, and vicars, not only privately, but by public advice and exhortation, to urge the people to be loyal, and that they should themselves be models; and the archbishops are directed to restrain by excommunication* the rebellious. So much was it deemed a sacred duty to oppose the invader,† that, when the tumult of war had quite subsided, the Holy See remembered the conduct of one Thomas

* The form of excommunication against Bruce in Scotland required the lighting of candles, ringing the bells. *Vid.* Theiner, p. 220.

† The Bruces, not only when living but dead, had the charm of rallying warlike spirits round them.

Robert Bruce, in his determination to invade the Saracens, willed that, should he fall, his followers should carry his heart in battle; but, though having died at home, one James Douglas, a knight, agreeably to the will, brought the heart into Spain; but he required absolution, as well as the clerics who had a hand in the matter, from an excommunication, and the latter from an irregularity.

during the invasion as grounds for promotion. Thomas suffered from the impediment of illegitimacy. Born of noble parents, but out of wedlock, he required a papal dispensation for ecclesiastical promotion. He had been in Paris, Cambridge, and Oxford, studied and disputed in these places with success for several years, and lectured in Armagh on the Sacred Scriptures; but, not the least of his recommendations in the eyes of the supreme Pontiff was, that he risked his life from powerful chieftains during the war of invasion in defence of the rights and liberties of the Church of Ireland.*

Opposed as the Pope had been to the invasion by Bruce, and feeling acutely the injury thereby sustained by religion, yet he would not allow the personal liberty or public character of the ecclesiastic to be sacrificed to the resentment of the king. A bishop condemned to perpetual prison, and taking the oath of fidelity on being liberated, was charged with traitorously siding with Bruce, and so the king demanded his degradation. The Pope replied that, though he felt heartily for the security of the king, and was disposed to punish the disturbers of the public peace, yet he could not consent to the degradation of the bishop, as his guilt was not formally established. Enemies of injustice and upholders of right, the *non possumus* of the Popes is immemorial and undying.†

While such had been the awful picture drawn of Ireland, and the Primate of Armagh had been blamed

* *Vid.* Theiner, ad an.

† "Quamvis ad tranquillitatem tuam afficimur ex intimis, quamvis omnes illam iniquis ausibus perturbantes, quantum juste licebit persequi disponamus ad ipsam tamen episcopi depositionem de cujus demeritis nondum nobis pœnam exigens innotuit veritas, procedere absque justitiæ offensa *non possumus*." Theiner, *Vetera Monum.*, &c.

to some extent for such a state of things, I am reminded of a contest in which he was a principal but blameless actor, I mean the contest for primacy. This contest, carried on for nearly a century, arose from a bull granted by the Pope to the Archbishop of Dublin. The contest with more or less violence continued during the next century; but at this time it assumed a most serious aspect. Before the coming of the English, the Archbishop of Armagh claimed the right of visitation, and exercised it on the several provinces of the kingdom. He claimed, principally in Ulster, a tribute under the name of "St. Patrick's Tribute." Had the bull then granted by the Pope to Archbishop Comyn for its object merely the exempting him from vexatious visits and oppressive taxes, and confining the primate's authority within canonical legitimate limits, it might have been exceedingly salutary; but the bull was understood as withdrawing the archdiocese of Dublin from all primatial jurisdiction, and very naturally. Otherwise why deny the same independence to the other archbishoprics? The Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel claimed it but were defeated. Dublin stood in some respects in the same position to Armagh as Constantinople did to Rome. Constantinople became the seat of empire, and for that reason claimed pre-eminent dignity. Not satisfied with claiming precedence before the older apostolic sees, supported by imperial authority, it began to question the supremacy of even Rome. So it was with Dublin in reference to precedence. It became the seat of English power in Ireland; it was filled with English bishops. These bishops were the representatives very often of royalty. Why not have them supreme in spirituals? Accordingly, a bull was obtained by Archbishop Comyn in the year 1182. It was dated April 13th. It decreed,

"that following the authority of the holy canons, no archbishop or bishop should presume to celebrate synods, or handle ecclesiastical causes within the province of the Archbishop of Dublin, unless he were a bishop of the province, or some person enjoined to do so by the Roman Pontiff." The bull was confirmed, in 1216, by Innocent III., and after him by Honorius III. Besides, in the year 1221, a bull was obtained by Archbishop Loundres, which went even farther than the former bull. It ran thus:—"It prohibited any archbishop or bishop of Ireland, except the suffragans of Dublin or apostolic delegates, without the consent of the Archbishop of Dublin, or his successors, to bear up the cross, celebrate assemblies, or handle ecclesiastical causes in the province of Dublin, unless delegated thereto by the Apostolic See.* On the strength of these bulls the Archbishops of Dublin did battle for entire independence of Armagh. From time to time each archbishop, as he thought himself in favour with the king or the Pope, renewed the dispute. It disturbed the harmony that should have reigned between Reiner, Archbishop of Armagh, and Luke, Archbishop of Dublin. However, the dispute became so fierce, that the Holy See is said to have interposed in favour of Armagh in the year 1261; and to have issued a bull confirmatory of its sentence.† The bull gave leave to the Arch-

* Harris' Ware's *Bishops*, p. 73.

† The bull ran thus:—"By our Apostolic Authority, after the example of our predecessor, Pope Celestine, we confirm to you and to your successors the primacy of all Ireland, which you and your predecessors to this time are known to have held firm and indisputable; and we decree that all the archbishops and bishops and other prelates of Ireland do pay to you and your successors reverence and obedience as to their primate." Some deny the authenticity of the decree. Dr. Burke (*Hib. Dom.*) inclines to the same opinion. The bull went on "to give license to the Archbishop of Armagh to bear the cross, which is the standard of

bishop of Armagh to hold synods and bear his cross through all the provinces. The decree was published, in 1262, by the primate, at an assembly of bishops and peers at Drogheda.

However, in the year 1311, John Leech, Archbishop of Dublin, calculating on the favour of the king (being his almoner), set up his claims to independence of Armagh.* The Archbishop of Armagh, whether annoyed at the opposition or from some other cause, resigned in the following November. He was succeeded by his brother, Roland Jorse, under whom the contest assumed a ridiculous appearance. In 1313, Jorse rose during the night, and erected his cross by stealth; and carried it erect as far as the priory of "Grace Dieu," within the province of Dublin. Some of the family of the Archbishop of Dublin met him, beat down his cross, and drove him out of Leinster. By this contest for the primacy the business of parliament, or of the great council, was brought to a standstill; because the Archbishop of Armagh could not be allowed to have the cross erect before him, and without the cross so carried he could not be prevailed on to proceed to Dublin. Such had been the case in 1337. But, in 1349, Richard Fitz-Ralph ventured to approach Dublin on the strength of an invitation given by King Edward, who at the same time wrote to the peers, and great men and mayors, to help him in upholding the rights of the primatial see. Trusting to the protection of God, and of St. Patrick, and the support of the king, the primate, with cross erect, approached Dublin. Taking up his lodging, he continued there for three days.

Christ, through all the provinces and bishoprics subject to you by primatial and metropolitical rights as was allowed to your predecessors."

* *Jus. Primat. Armac. Passim.*

He promulgated the privileges of his see in the presence of the Lord Chief Justice, the Prior of Kilmainham, and the other peers who were in attendance. But the two former, influenced by the Archbishop of Dublin, opposed him. The primate withdrew, and having returned to Drogheda, he excommunicated all who opposed him. Many or most repented of their opposition; some went on their knees and begged absolution from the primate. And the Prior of Kilmainham, falling sick the same year, sent messengers to the Archbishop of Armagh to obtain absolution. In the meantime the prior died; and till it was known that he died penitent, and till his friends promised that they would never question his primacy, the primate refused him Christian burial. The friends of the prior made the required promise—he was absolved. He then received Christian burial. In the year 1350 the king, wishing to uphold the dignity of his capital in Ireland, revoked this letter which had been given in favour of Armagh. He alleged as an excuse that the letter had been given under false pretexts. Accordingly, in 1352, he strictly inhibited the primate from exercising any authority in Leinster. The controversy was carried to Rome. Because the authority of kings was quoted on both sides, and Pope was quoted against Pope. As a consequence the following decision was said to have been come to by the Pope and cardinals:—"That Armagh and Dublin should be primatial sees; that the Archbishop of Armagh should be Primate of all Ireland, and that the Archbishop of Dublin should be Primate of Ireland."* Whether given by Rome or not, the decree

* The supporters of the primacy of Armagh deny this decree because favouring too much the claims of Dublin; while the opposers of the primacy deny the authenticity of the bull attributed to Urban IV., and directed to Scanlan, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1261.

did not answer the desired end. For, in 1365, the suit was again brought before Rome. Edward III. at this time proposed a compromise between Milo Sweetman of Armagh, and Thomas Mynot, Archbishop of Dublin. He suggested that each should bear up his cross in the other's province; and that both should meet in order to come to some arrangement. The Archbishop of Armagh was punctual to the appointment. The day fixed on was the 17th of September. Again, the 24th was fixed on. But on neither day did the Dublin archbishop appear. However, on the latter day he sent his proctor, who, on the part of his master, insisted on each archbishop bearing up his cross in the province of the other. On this account the Archbishop of Armagh begged to be excused for not attending to the writ issued by the king. Furthermore, he besought of the king for the future to issue no writs to himself, as it was impossible for him to act on them without a lowering of his dignity. He argued that he could not allow the Archbishop of Dublin to bear up his cross in the province of Armagh. Because the archbishops of Dublin never claimed such a privilege. He insisted that there was question not whether the Dublin archbishop should bear his cross in Armagh, but whether the Archbishop of Armagh should bear his cross in Dublin. Feeling the force of these arguments, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, wrote a sharp reprimand to the Archbishop of Dublin for contempt of orders; and required that he would meet him at Castle Dermot. No more is heard about the matter at that time. But often in the next century the Archbishop of Armagh stood on his rights, and refused attending councils held in the province of Leinster. He did so, because otherwise he thought he would lower or forfeit his dignity.

John Swayn, Archbishop of Armagh, was summoned, and did not attend, in the years 1429, 1435, 1436, and 1438. His successor, John Prene, refused to attend in 1442 and 1443. And *his* successor, John Mey, refused attending councils to which he was summoned in 1446, 1447, 1448, and 1449. Again, in the year 1533 the controversy was renewed by Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, on one side, and on the other by John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin. But from the silence of Alan as to the result, who speaks of the matter, it is presumable that the result was in favour of Armagh. By-and-by, because Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, favoured Protestantism, Edward VI. decreed the primacy to Dublin. But in the next reign Queen Mary restored the primacy to Armagh. A century rolled on, and during that stormy period the prelates of Armagh and Dublin had something to occupy them other than the profitless contest for the primacy. However, during a comparative lull, about the year 1670, there was question of transacting some business for the Church, of signing an address to the Viceroy Berkeley. Each of the rival archbishops claimed the right of precedence in signing the address. At a time when union was necessary to the well-being of the Irish Church, it is generally known that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, by rival and petty claims, were at variance.

Here, in confirmation of views on the primacy in the preceding pages, I think it not amiss to give an extract from what appeared from me in a contemporaneous periodical* since the first edition of this work. Let it appear without change:—

"One of our old and very learned annalists gave

* The *Lamp*, incorporated with the *Hibernian Magazine*. Article headed, "Primates of Ireland." (May, 1865.)

it as his opinion, that an investigator of Irish antiquities does not touch solid ground till he comes to the times of Cimboath. In this opinion he is followed by many; but he would be followed by far more, if he were to say that since the days of Cimboath, a period of more than two thousand years, no historic field exhibited a greater number of avenues ending in intricate labyrinths than Ireland. Mystery shrouds the origin of many a custom in full force among us; and the moral Sphynx rests guarding many a memorial of the past.

"We must not be understood as implying for a moment that the use of the term 'primate' in the Irish Church runs back to a dateless period; but we are inclined to believe that though there is no ecclesiastical dignity on which so much has been written as on the primatial dignity in Ireland, there is not another on which so little, generally speaking, is known with certainty. Happily, at present, we can coolly approach a subject which, once on a time, roused the most sluggish, and quickened the zeal of the calmest and holiest. Perhaps there are few who do not know that now there is no real primacy, and that there has not been for many years. All know that the Archbishop of Armagh is styled Primate of all Ireland, and the Archbishop of Dublin Primate of Ireland—a distinction without a difference.

"After a great deal of talk and lengthy correspondence during centuries on the subject, the Most Rev. Dr. Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote a treatise in proof of its primacy over the Irish Church. A reply, styled 'Primacy of Dublin,' came from its Archbishop, the Most Rev. Dr. Talbot. In the following century, in the year 1727, an octavo volume of moderate size, entitled *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, and, indeed, the ablest defence of the primacy of

Armagh, came from the pen of its archbishop, the Most Rev. Dr. M'Mahon.

"It has often been asked, was there ever a recognized primate in the Irish Church? The opinion of the learned author of *Hibernia Dominicana*,* who outlived the faintest murmur of contention on the subject in the last century, is that the Archbishop of Armagh or Dublin was neither acknowledged as primate, nor addressed as such by popes, the real sources of legitimate ecclesiastical jurisdiction and dignity, unless agreeably to the tenor of a document to which they replied, and whose wording they, as a matter of form, had borrowed. This opinion we must dissent from; and if we adopt any part of it, it must be with some modification.

"Now, in the first place, the famous Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, owing to the poverty of the see, applied for the annexation of four benefices to his revenue. In yielding to his request, the Pope styles him 'Primate of Ireland.' This does not appear wonderful, because in the petition Fitz-Ralph very probably so styles himself; but it is exceedingly improbable that, if he spoke of his successors, he thought of styling them Primates of Ireland. And yet the Sovereign Pontiff styles them primates.†

"Again, Pope Clement V., in appointing Walter Joyce to the See of Armagh, calls him Primate of all Ireland.‡ In doing so, he was not repeating the words of a document, in reference to the election,

* Cap. i. n. xi., lit. a.

† *Vet. Mon.*, p. 295. So, too, in 1479, when Connesbury did not redeem the bull for his consecration, Octavian was appointed by Rome. His title ran thus: "Nuncio of the Apostolic See, by special deputation General Ruler in spirituals and temporals of the Cathedral Metropolitan Church of Armagh and Primacy of Ireland."

‡ *Theiner*, p. 176.

received from the chapter; for, if I am rightly informed, he received no such document. There had been no need of writing to the Pope about the death of the last archbishop, because he had died in Rome; there had been no need of getting information from the Chapter of Armagh, relative to the merits of the future archbishop, because he was brother to Thomas Joyce, Cardinal of St. Sabina; furthermore, the Pope states that it was by "provision" he appointed to the vacant see, without regard to the choice of the chapter. For all these reasons I conclude that in applying the term 'primate' to the archbishop, the Pope did not follow the tenor of any document, as De Burgo would have us believe.

"But, on the other hand, was primatial jurisdiction ever given to or exercised by any archbishop in Ireland? There need be no hesitation in saying that St. Patrick received substantially, if not formally, primatial jurisdiction. How could we imagine him fitted for the mission of converting a country to all intents and purposes pagan, and regulating a newly-constituted hierarchy, without primatial jurisdiction. If such jurisdiction be lawfully exercised in confirming bishops, in adjusting differences, in convoking a national council, in watching over the observance of discipline in all parts of the kingdom, in being competent to give dimissory letters, then surely did St. Patrick exercise it.* Such power may have been personal to St. Patrick, and ended with his life. Some such arrangement may have been made as with St. Augustine by St. Gregory the Great.†

* Thomas. *Vet. et Nouv. disc.*, pars I. lib. I. c. xxxii. p. III.

† Usum tibi pallii concedimus, ita ut per loca singula duodecim Episcopos ordines, qui tuæ ditioni subjaceant. . . . Si post obitum tuum vero inter Londiniæ et Eboracæ civitatis Episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus" (L. vii., Ep. xv.)

"To suppose that any arrangements such as that between the Archbishop of York and Canterbury took place in reference to Armagh and some other Irish see is quite conjectural, or that the primatial dignity was annexed to St. Patrick rather than to the See of Armagh. On the contrary, a canon in the old Book of Armagh ordained that 'only such difficult cases should be brought before the Apostolic See, the Chair of Peter, as did not admit of a satisfactory solution from the See of Armagh or its wise counsellors.' Beyond doubt such a canon implies supremacy not only of honour, but of power.

"But, furthermore, the language of councils is borne out by the testimony of the bishops and doctors of the Church. Fiech, the Bishop of Sletty, called Armagh 'the See of the Kingdom.' In the sixth century St. Evin styled it the fixed metropolis of Ireland, and attributed supremacy to it. Nor did the canons of councils, nor the decisions of doctors remain unacted upon. The Archbishop of Armagh challenged and exercised primatial jurisdiction under the most adverse circumstances. Ireland had been split into many petty kingdoms whose several rulers were very jealous of their independence, and naturally opposed to the exercise of any authority amongst them by the subject of any other toparch. Nothing, then, but a general acquiescence in the primatial powers in Armagh could have warranted its archbishop to visit judicially the other provinces. Yet such was the case.

"In 810, Nuud visited Connaught; in 835, Diarmuid visited it to confirm the people in the teaching of St. Patrick; in 1068, Mælisa visited Munster; Domhnal, with consent of the Irish clergy, 'imposed fasts on the entire kingdom, which preserved the people from impending calamities.' In 1106, St.

Celsus visited Munster; presided, in 1111, at the celebrated synod at Usneach, attended by fifty bishops and many thousand ecclesiastics; and in 1116, visited Connaught. And in the middle of the twelfth century St. Bernard calls Armagh the first see, and adds that there was another metropolitical see which Archbishop Celsus lately constituted, but subject to the first see and to its archbishop as to its primate (tanquam primati). The word *tanquam* is used here, as usual in such matter, to express not likeness to, but the reality of, primacy. So, when St. Gregory gave primacy to Theodore, he used the same form.* At the time in which St. Bernard wrote there were only two archbishoprics, those of Armagh and Cashel; yet the latter was subject to the former. Even after the four archbishoprics were honoured with the pallia in 1152, Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, exercised primatial jurisdiction. Several times he visited, as ordinary, the different provinces of the kingdom, and presided at a synod held, 1163, in the archdiocese of Dublin; and, on the supposition of primatial powers, this was quite legitimate—the granting of the pallia notwithstanding.†

"The first shock to the primacy of Armagh was given in the year 1182. John Comyn, the first English Archbishop of Dublin, received a bull of exemption from Lucius III., the then reigning Pontiff. It ran thus: 'Agreeably to the holy canons, no archbishop or bishop should presume to celebrate synods or handle ecclesiastical matters within the

* 'Quem (Theodorum) præfecit Romanus Pontifix universis Angliæ Episcopis, tanquam primati.' (l. v. c. xii. de rebus Anglicis. Wm. of Newbridge).

† "Ne alii Metropolitani appellentur Primates, nisi illi qui primas sedes tenent, ut quos sancti patres, synodali et Apostolica authoritate primates esse decreverunt." (Ep. Sti. Gregor. l. vii. c. 336.)

province of the Archbishop of Dublin, unless he be a bishop of the province, or some other person enjoined by the Roman Pontiff to do so.' This bull was understood as pointed at Armagh. It was confirmed by Honorius III. And another obtained by Archbishop Loundres, in 1221, went even still further. It was as follows: 'It prohibits any archbishop or bishop of Ireland, except the suffragans of Dublin or apostolic delegates, without consent of the Archbishop of Dublin, or his successor, to bear up the cross, celebrate synods, or handle ecclesiastical causes in the province of Dublin, unless delegated thereto by the Apostolic See.' Relying on these bulls, the Archbishops of Dublin denied the assumption of supremacy by Armagh; while Armagh, insisting that the forementioned bulls did not affect itself, did battle for the primacy. At length, in 1261, the Archbishop of Armagh produced a document from Pope Urban IV., and confirmatory of the primacy of Armagh.

"For a full century afterwards the matter of primacy was warmly debated; but in the year 1353, an entry appeared in the Dublin registers which forms an epoch in this protracted controversy. It ordained 'that Armagh and Dublin should be primatial sees; that the archbishop of the latter should be Primate of Ireland, and archbishop of the former, Primate of *all* Ireland.'

"So early as 1257, down to the sixteenth century, the Archbishops of Armagh were indiscriminately styled Primates of Ireland and of *all* Ireland by the Popes.*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the controversy was opened anew; but in the middle of the latter, the Propaganda decided that the con-

* John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin, said he saw a decision warranting such a distinction on turning over the papers of Innocent VI. in Rome.

troversy should be dropped. Benedict XIV., when addressing the Irish hierarchy, never alludes to the existence of a primate; while, at the same time, writing to the Polish clergy, he distinguishes them by archbishops and primate, &c.; and even long before that time, the idea of attributing primatial jurisdiction to Armagh was given up in Ireland. At a meeting in Galway, in the year 1650, of six signatures to a document, the procurator of the Archbishop of Armagh was only the third in order: Dublin and the procurator of Tuam signed before him.

"To sum up what has been said:—St. Patrick possessed primatial powers; his successors possessed them, if not with the positive sanction, at least with the toleration of Rome and the acquiescence of the Irish Church, down to the year 1182; from that period to the revolution in religion in the sixteenth century, they were primates only of Tuam, and styled Primates of Ireland, since then to the present, while possessing no primatial powers, they were styled Primates of all Ireland, in contradistinction to the Archbishops of Dublin, Primates of Ireland. And while, during a contest of 600 years' duration, human passion may have carried some to unseemly lengths, there was a principle at stake, inalienable immunities which each felt it a sacred duty to defend. Certain it is that the holiest and most zealous were often the most unyielding in the contest for the primacy. Lest they might barter away the privileges of their sees, the bishops in the Council of Trent, than which there never was a holier nor more learned body, took their places on the understanding that their rights should not be forfeited. None did battle more warmly for the primacy than St. Thomas à Becket, Lanfranc, or St. Anselm;* and his firmness

* St. Anselm says: "Ego nullatenus remanerem in Anglia;

and zeal elicited the praise of Pope Zachary. So, too, it fared with the primacy of Ireland. The dispute may be said to have terminated in the persons of the illustrious Archbishops Talbot of Dublin and Plunkett of Armagh. Both were natures tempered to the true heroic pitch by grace. The former, borne down by years and suffering, in a loathsome prison died for the faith. The other, on a still more public theatre, for the same faith died the death of a glorious martyr."

Going back to the time when I took up the protracted contest about the primacy, we find the Irish Church afflicted in common with the Universal Church with cause for deep regret. I allude to the suppressions of the Knights Templars. Just about 200 years they had already lived as a military religious order. Like all other orders, they took their rise from the circumstance of the time. They performed prodigies of valour against the infidel, and rendered incalculable service to the devout pilgrims. They became rich, and with riches came pride and a disposition to pleasure. They counted over 9,000 houses over Europe. In the beginning, nobility of birth or even royal favour was not sufficient, without a spotless descent, to gain admittance to the order. Afterwards there may not have been the scrupulous regard to fitness in the admission of candidates. It is supposed, at all events, that their suppression in France arose from the most selfish motives.* Because of the wealth which they possessed, and which sovereigns coveted, the Templars became odious to them.† Of course irregularities may be traced to

non enim deberem aut possem pati ut me in ea vivente, primatus ecclesiæ nostræ destrueretur" (L. iii., Ep. 152).

* The Grand Master summoned to judgment Philip the Fair, who suppressed them and died in a short time after.

† St. Antoninus; Touron's *Hist. des Hommes Illust.*

individuals, but beyond question they were exaggerated. The Templars were declared innocent in the year 1310, at Mayence, Ravenna, and at Salamanca. But as the cry was raised against them, the King of England thought it his duty to imitate his cousin of France. Accordingly, in the year 1307, Edward issued orders to the justiciary in Dublin to have them seized on the same day in Ireland as in England.* Without delay the order was put in execution. They were kept in honourable custody for three years.† However, in the year following their suppression, the Pope gave orders to seize their goods. Inquisitors were appointed to procure all possible information against them. The Dean of Dublin, Canon Bandinell of Florence, and John Balla, Canon of Clonfert, were the inquisitors. The Templars were hurried to Dublin. There a mockery of a trial took place; because whether guilty or not, their condemnation and annihilation as a religious body were resolved on. Indeed some, from the hope of pardon or consciousness of guilt, acknowledged to crimes. They were thrust into monasteries to expiate their past offences. In the year 1314, the Hospitallers, a kindred order, acquired their possessions.‡ On read-

* Rymer: *Liber. Mun.*

† Rymer, III., p. 73.

‡ Dowling's *Annals.* Archdall says it was in 1312 they were suppressed.

"Fourpence was allowed for the daily support of each. The Grand Master, however, daily got 2*s.* Threepence was daily given to the chaplain, besides 20*s.* as a yearly stipend. The servants got twopence, besides five or six shillings for a livery. They were to perform the same services as they did to the knights. The house of Kilmainham was devoted to strangers and guests rather than to the poor; besides, it received sixteen benefices. The Pope issued a bull sanctioning the transfer of the property to the Hospitallers, but King Edward did not act on it; and when, by-and-by, the transfer of property really took place,

ing over the testimony given by forty-one witnesses against them in Ireland, a suspicion arises that the Templars met with foul play. Nothing beyond rumour was produced to lead to a verdict of guilt. One said that he *heard* of the guilt of the Order; another declared that he heard from one who, too, *heard* it from a third person, that some individuals of the order were obnoxious. Save these generalities, scarcely anything positive was elicited to the prejudice of individuals. But there was one point positively sworn to. In June, 1311, one witness deposed that at the elevation of the Host the Templars looked to the ground, and at the giving the *Pax* at the *Agnus Dei*, they seemed rather lukewarm.*

When one considers on the one hand the tremendous blow dealt to the accused, and on the other the silliness of the charge of looking on the ground during the elevation (the looking *on the Host* at the elevation with rapt veneration exposed the Irish to the charge of heresy) it is hard to know whether to smile or weep.† After contemplating the judicial trial of an order of men spread over Europe, and subjected to the same mockery of justice in other places, perhaps, as in Ireland, we may well pause for a few moments over a trial of a very different nature. It was almost unique in its way. It occurred in Kerry. The defendant was the Bishop of Ardfert, and the plaintiff was William Bristol, Rector of Ardfert. The bishop

the king assigned as a reason for the transfer, not the bull of the Pope or good of the Church, but the good of the nation."—Rymer, III., 451.

* Wilkin's *Councils*, vol. ii., p. 376.

† The Pope, on some representations by the English, directed a bull to the Irish bishops, and, accusing the Irish of heresy, said that they raised their eyes at the elevation of the Host.—*Bull. Rom.*, vol. ii., p. 212.

irritated at the suit of the prior excommunicated him and all the friars, so that the very necessaries of life were denied them. This aggravated the charge. The trial came on; action and distress were given against the bishop. The charge against him was the stealth of the body of St. John de Cantalupe from the friary.*

While we see religious engaged in holy rivalry in devotion to the relics of the saints, and the pious laic making rich endowments in favour of monastic houses;† while the people were suffering from the woeful grievances detailed in the letter of O'Neil to the Pope; while the king embarrassed the Church, by objecting, at one time, to an election of a bishop because the Pope's bull of confirmation was not sufficiently respectful to the high-strained prerogative;‡ at another time, by fining a poor ecclesiastic for not going through the usual formalities in craving the king's consent to an election;§ and, again, a lowly friar for receiving, on the part of a convent, donations against the statutes of mortmain,¶ Robert Bruce was asserting the independence of Scotland. The Irish, tracing some remote connexion between themselves and the Scotch, and, above all, wishing for any

* A like contest was carried on for the remains of St. Vincent Ferrer on the part of the Spaniards, who took away the body buried at Vannes, in France, by the canons.—Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, April 5th.

† Many convents were founded at this time. Such had been the liberality of John Decer, Mayor, that the Dominicans inserted the following invocation in their Litany—"Orate pro salute majoris, ballivorum et communitatis de omni civitate, Dublin, optimorum benefactorum huic ordini nunc et in hora mortis."—Archdall, p. 206.

‡ He demurred to the election of John Lech for Dublin, and of Jorse for Armagh.

§ The Bishop of Enaghdune was fined 300 marks for not asking the king's leave for election.—Rymer.

¶ The Prior of Kells (Kilkenny) was fined.—Archdall.

change which would rid themselves of the English, invited Robert Bruce to help them in asserting the independence of Church and State. He did not come, but sent his brother, who landed with 6,000 men on the Ulster coast about the middle of the year 1315.* Being hailed as a deliverer, he was joined by the natives. The clergy, with a few exceptions, invoked a blessing on their arms. Some English adventurers swelled the ranks. All opposition for some time melted before Bruce. He returned to Scotland the next year to recruit his forces. That done, he again came to Ireland. The Archbishop of Armagh was ordered to excommunicate Bruce and his followers. The excommunication was launched by orders of the Pope, to whom complaints against the Irish clergy were probably made. To meet these complaints the letter of O'Neil was written. It pretends no sympathy with the clergy, it represents them as afraid to speak, it endeavours to convince the Pope that the clergy were not the cause of the rising. But the letter betrays the hand of an ecclesiastic. It began with the miseries of the Irish Church, it closes with a detail of these miseries. The Irish ecclesiastics were in disgrace in Rome. A prejudice was created there against them by their exclusion of English from Irish canonries, the result, as was represented, of narrow national antipathy. Though represented as indifferent to the national cause, the Irish clergy animated the people to fight as for a holy cause.† During the three years and

* It would be well if the editor of Clyn's *Annals*, in his preface, told us why he puts the landing of Bruce on St. Augustine's day (28th August), while Clyn, himself a contemporaneous writer, says it took place about June.—*An.* edited for R.I.S.

† The king wrote, and, in a spirit of complaint, inquires about the treason of the Bishop of Ferns—his name was Adam. He

a half Bruce was in Ireland the people suffered extremely. They were necessitated to scrape the corpses from the graves.* Nor is Bruce represented as over-anxious to alleviate these sufferings. He conducted himself towards the Church as a pagan. Nor were the English more religious. From the Shannon to Innishowen they spared neither saint nor church.† Bruce, after some time, acted not as a saviour, but as the invader of our country. To a loose observance of Lent the year before, the people in their usual supernatural view of things attributed their sufferings. Bruce's operations in Ireland met with stout opposition. His imprudent and vandalic‡ conduct was believed to have brought the curse of heaven on his arms. On the 14th October, 1318, a decisive battle was fought. Disaster and defeat fell on the arms of Bruce. His army was routed, himself killed, and the battle-field, strewn with the bodies of many Irish chiefs of noble birth, was drenched with the blood of 10,000 of their followers.§ The calamities of invasion were to some extent counterbalanced by one good result. It led to a lively representation of the sad state in which the Irish Church was placed. The representation removed

wrote to the general of the order in Rome, and begged that he would correct the Friars Minors who were plotting against him. —Rymer.

* Provisions ran so high that a "cranog" of corn cost 20*s*., a vast sum of money for these times. A cranog means a hamper (O'Reilly's *Irish Dictionary*). But according to Sir Wm. Betham it contained two quarters.—*Antiquarian Researches*, vol. ii p. 25.

† *An. of Clonmacnoise.*

‡ Campion says he committed sacrilege against churches, tombs, virgins, and altars. The *Annals* of Dowling say that he robbed the church of Carrickfergus ; and those of the Four Masters add that a more fortunate event than the departure of Bruce from Ireland did not happen for many a day. Robert Bruce returned to Scotland, but his brother Edward lost his life in Ireland.

§ Fordun, *Scoto Chronicon.*, vol. iv. p. 1009.

prejudice from the mind of the Pontiff. It won his sympathy.

Roland Jorse is accused by native annalists of having encouraged resistance to the Scots, while at the same time he is put down by others as one who welcomed and favoured them.

But if the Archbishop of Armagh at other times be open to the charge of siding with the invader against the natives, the present archbishop did not surely merit such a charge. On the contrary, Odo, Abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Armagh, accused him before John XXII. of having refused to publish the regulations of the cardinal legate in the affair of Bruce, and of having absolved some nobles who took a prominent part in the rebellion. Nor was this the only ground of accusation taken by the Chapter and Abbot of Armagh. They complained that he did not pay the tax due to the apostolic treasury, and so incurred excommunication for five years; and that he despised an appeal made to the Holy See, arising out of a demand by Robert de Cotegrune, perpetual vicar of the church of Termon-Fechin, in the diocese of Armagh. The said church had been possessed by the prior and convent of St. Mary de Lunech, on condition of paying a certain rent to the vicar. He determined to increase the yearly rent; but they refused doing so, and appealed from the archbishop to Rome. The having struck a priest named Alan, who wore the tonsure and ecclesiastical dress; the having pledged a silver image of St. Michael, a holy-water vase with aspersory, a boat for incense, a thurible, many silver chalices, vestments, pontificals; the having given away the wood or covering of a house from the buildings of Ruschath, and Termon-Fechin, and Inisquin; the having sold for twenty years the revenues of the archdiocese to Mr. Andrew Sapiti, a

Florentine, for 4,000 marks, and thus left only two shillings daily to the archbishop, his successor, to live on; the having turned the churches of Armagh into a granary, by storing all sorts of provisions into them; the prevalence of abuses in his diocese, owing to his neglect and inability to correct abuses,* because of his ignorance of the Irish language, and neglect in visiting the diocese of Dromore and Kildare during five years, for which neglect he received from the former fifteen, and from Kildare thirty marks of silver —all were made matter of charge against the archbishop.

Hence, in the year 1318, two delegates came from Rome to Ireland. If they did not obtain much good, they prevented some evil to the Irish Church. At all events, whether arising from a sense of duty or interest, there appeared a disposition in the king to restrain the lawless power of the barons. John XXII. addressed a letter to Edward III.

To say that the Pope was indifferent to the fate of the Irish is to indulge the foulest calumny. No doubt, either because he saw no chance of success to the rising, or because the excesses which accompanied it could not be compensated for by any material advantage, he opposed the continuation of hostilities. He wrote a letter, dated the 16th of the kalends of April, to cardinal legates for Ireland. He commissioned them to adopt all means for bringing about an understanding between the King of England and his Irish subjects—of withdrawing all jurisdiction and privilege from those who would encourage rebellion.

* Laici commiserunt adulterium et incestus cum consanguineis et commatribus suis, et non habuit verbum arguendi taliter delinquentes. Dicitur commisisse perjurium inspectis *sacrosanctis evangeliis et tenens manum ad pectus.* He allowed a nobleman to be in sin for forty shillings, who "remota uxore legitima, adhærebat cuidam adulteræ."

No privilege was to screen from the authority of the legates any ecclesiastic, whether a simple priest or primate. He drew a glowing picture of the blessings of peace; insisted on the necessity of absolving all vassals from the obligations of oaths of fidelity to rebellious lords, but at the same time of remedying all abuses. On the 2nd of April he addressed letters severally to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel. He complains of the encouragement given to the war by the religious orders. "Some," he continued, "of the friars preachers, and particularly the rectors, vicars, and chaplains of parochial churches in some parts of Ireland, by their preaching, urge people to rebellion, and absolve those engaged in it. Let all who so act be excommunicated, having quenched the lights and rung the bell within eight days."*

But while the Pope wished to prevent people from rushing on destruction, he endeavoured to obtain a redress of the grievances which maddened them to resistance. He wrote twice to the apostolic nuncios on the subject. Writing to the king, he said, speaking of the Irish: "But because they could no longer bear these grievances, they were driven in self-defence to throw off allegiance to you, and transfer it to another. If your ancestors got leave to come to Ireland, it was only under certain specified conditions. These have not been fulfilled. The natives have been crushed by cruel persecution, by unheard-of grievances, by burdens too heavy for man to bear, by a system of inhuman tyranny; all this has been the more unbearable in proportion to its long continuance. There was none to redress these grievances—none who felt a touch of compassion for such misery. Even yourself have been deaf to the strong cry of

* *Bull. Rom.*, vol. iii., p. 107.

affliction which has reached you." Then he tells the king that unless the grievances of the subjects are redressed evil will come on him, and implies that the subject is freed from allegiance. Who could have felt more keenly—who could have used stronger language—who could have been bolder in denouncing the tyranny of the king than the Supreme Pontiff?

CHAPTER XVIII.

We are not left to conjecture or draw on the imagination for a true picture of the desolation caused by the wars of the Bruces. Pope John XXII., writing on the 4th of the kalends of April, 1317, states: "That the lands were depopulated; that many persons of every age, and sex, and condition, even in churches, were cruelly put to the sword; and that many were driven into exile. Disregarding the crime of sacrilege, and the burning of houses, Bruce did not hesitate to destroy churches, chapels, monasteries, and all religious houses devoted to the worship of God. And having laid aside all religious fear he carried away from them whatever was preserved from the conflagration."

But the destruction of property, loss of life, stop to the progress of the arts and civilisation, the human soul wrung with poignant anguish, these, lamentable though they be, are not the saddest results of the wars.

The strong man might have been struck down, but his place was supplied by one who drove the plough or plied his trade. The fields might have been ploughed by the ravages of wars, but the corn sprung up next spring as freshly, and the lark sung out as gaily as ever. Human habitations might have been levelled to the ground, but by-and-by the work of reconstruction commenced. The lava passed over the soil, but it was only to see the green grass shoot up more vigorously than ever. Not so with the

moral effects. The war of Bruce led to a violation of order and law. And just as the sea continues to roll even after the wind is hushed, so after the cessation of the war its effects appeared in the relaxation of discipline with tremendous results.

Thus, in 1377, Pope Gregory IX. found it necessary to write to the Bishop of Limerick, to the Abbot of O'Madio, and to the Prior of Achessel, in reference to the excesses committed in Emly. "The doleful complaint of many," said the Pontiff, after some prefatory remarks, "has frequently troubled and embittered our peace of mind. Children of iniquity, having laid aside the fear of God, under the pretence of war, from which the town and diocese of Emly have repeatedly suffered, have laid violent hands on ecclesiastics, seculars and regulars, even dignitaries who have not at all connected themselves with the war; not only so, but have imprisoned and scourged the aforesaid ecclesiastics, and exacted undue sums for the release of the imprisoned. Monasteries, churches, hospitals, all holy retreats have been invaded, plundered, or burned. Sacred books, chalices, crosses, relics of saints, sacred vestments, the revenues of the Church—all have been sacrilegiously taken away. As a consequence, much scandal had been given, the divine offices were neglected, souls had been lost, and the Almighty had been offended." The Pontiff ordered the commissioners to see that clerics not engaged in the wars, who were seized on or kept in custody should be set at liberty; and that those who seized on them, confined them, struck, wounded, killed them, should be excommunicated; and that all the property taken away should be restored, and full compensation made for the injuries inflicted. Ecclesiastics of every grade, laics of every rank, all were commanded under pain of excommu-

nication to abstain from war for the future, and absolution from the excommunication was reserved to the Pontiff.

The effects of the wars on the morals of the people may be measured by the applications for dispensations to the Sovereign Pontiff. In the year 1343, the Archbishop of Cashel was empowered by the Pope to dispense in the impediment of illegitimacy twelve persons otherwise fit for the sacred ministry. In the very same year the Count of Desmond was privileged to supply with meat religious who habitually partook of his hospitality on all days on which flesh meat was not prohibited by the Church, their vows notwithstanding. In like manner at the request of Ralph, Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas, Bishop of Killaloe, and of other bishops, his Holiness Pope Innocent VI., in 1358, granted a dispensation to John O'Grady, a Killaloe cleric, recommended for his learning and sanctity.* In applying for a dispensation the most reverend and right reverend prelates stated, "that in their own districts there had been the greatest need of learned ecclesiastics, and that the cathedrals and inferior churches are likely to suffer from want of learned and fit pastors."

And though the nerves of discipline became more relaxed after the wars of the Bruces than before, yet at no time, considering the incessant abortive, because partial, attempts at a rising for national independence, was it possible that the bands could be closely drawn. On that account, in the middle of the thirteenth century, there had been frequent applications for dispensation for ministers of the altar, not because of any guilt on their part, but on that of their parents.

So, too, the awful scenes enacted at Emly were

* Genitus ex subdiacono et solutâ.

produced in the preceding century, though in a less violent degree. Thus, in 1255, from a reply to a letter written by Isaac, Bishop of Killaloe, to Pope Alexander IV., we learn "that some clerics and laics of Killaloe, having laid violent hands on religious and secular priests, had fallen under ecclesiastical censures; and that some of the clerics in that state dared to receive ordination and exercise ecclesiastical functions." Those who knowingly and willingly acted in violation of the censures, but not in contempt of authority, were suspended for two years from the exercise of orders received; also they were bound to expend in charity what would be necessary for going to Rome for absolution. On these conditions they were relieved from censures. Replying to a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, Pope Innocent IV., in 1244, writes:—"You have stated to us that in your city and diocese many labour under the impediment of illegitimacy. Some of them are priests, some deacons, some subdeacons, and others in minor orders. . . . We then empower you to dispense in the case of ten of them, in such way, however, that none of them can be promoted to the dignity of bishop without special licence."

Up to this time there had been a tendency to fill the wealthy sees with English bishops, and the rich stalls with English canons. So much so that the Irish Church found it necessary to protest against the monopoly. There had been no legislation on the matter before now. It might even have been said that the English ecclesiastics only acquiesced in what had been the arrangements solely of the State. But such a defence could not have been made at the present time. There was express legislation against the promotion of Irish ecclesiastics. The mask had been thrown off. The English ecclesiastics lent them-

selves to the most iniquitous code by which society could be governed, and enforced it by their censures. In fact it may be said there was a national schism. Altar was raised against altar. It would have been well for the interests of religion if either the English or the Irish gained a thorough supremacy. But it was not so. There were two parties who regarded each other instead of brothers, hostile rivals. Each with a disposition to adopt the abuses of the other, backed by national and religious jealousy, was slow to imitate what was good. The Irish on political grounds were excluded from benefices.* By the 31st Edward III. orders were given that no Irishman should receive a benefice, lest he may give notice of what may be going on to the Irish.† There may have been efforts made from time to time from selfish motives by the king, which would tend to restrain the excessive power of these barons, and improve the polity of the country. But no honest effort was made to effect a wholesome change in the relations of the Church. No impression, at least of a lasting nature, was made on the king by the letter of John XXII. The only interest manifested by the king for ecclesiastics was an interference with the Pope, that he would not press too urgently for the payment of sums required

* Edward II. would hint that the exclusion of the Irish was based on religious grounds. In applying for a bishop, an Englishman, he says that a good deal depends on a worthy bishop among rude men. While glancing at the rudeness of others he does not display a polished latinity in his writings. The people, he says, were wanting in "liegantia," and that it would be well to have educated loyal men, "inter bestiales et indoctis." His syntax was as bad as his style; and both were foolishly employed in running down those who could pen such a respectable document as that sent by O'Neil to the Pope.

† During the reign of Edward III., whoever had not land or benefice in Ireland, unless of English birth, could hold no office in Ireland.—*Liber. Mun.*, Pryn's Coll.

of bishops at their promotion.* At another time he would plead the apology of ecclesiastics with the Pope for non-attendance at Rome, on the plea of the troubled state of the country. Even the sum of money promised by King John, which was never regularly paid for Ireland, had to be forgiven by the Pope at this time. Furthermore, in the following year the Pope ordered tenths of all benefices for two years to the king, and commissioned the dean and chapter of Dublin to levy them.†

The Church was looked after by the State for its own selfish purposes. But protected or persecuted, once under the exclusive control of secular ministers, it failed in its mission. It became an instrument for working out the ends of grasping tyranny. During the vacancies of bishoprics the revenues for years were swept into the exchequer.‡ The priories were liable to be filled with the most worthless subjects. It is certain that duties were required of them quite inconsistent with their vocation. Conditions were imposed well calculated to introduce laxity of religious discipline, and ultimately to sap the religious spirit of the communities.§ The diocese of Dublin, peculiarly under the protection of Government, was anything but a sympathising member of the body of the National Church. Its cathedral churches far from

* The sum of money was enforced by censures. Sometimes on the plea of poverty it was eluded.—*Rymer.*

† Armagh yielded £145 10*s.* 7½*d.*; Dublin, £259 9*s.* 3½*d.*; Cashel, £105 9*s.* 5½*d.*; Tuam, £17 2*s.* 4*d.*—*Pipe Rolls.*

‡ From the year 1322 to 1331 the diocese of Ardagh was kept vacant by the king's escheators, who gathered in the profits.

§ Richard, Chief Justice of the Common Bench, brought an action against the prior of All Saints, for allowing a crane to fly away. However, on acknowledgment of the *crime*, the judge at the request of the plaintiff pardoned the prior.—Archdall's *All Saints Priory.*

the moderation and charity becoming brethren of Christ, could not agree in the election of a bishop. Their unseemly squabbles called for the nomination of the Pope. The archbishop provoked a disedifying quarrel about the primacy. Alexander Bicknor, in the year 1318, was made the instrument of hurling excommunication against his brother bishops. Himself, too, not for creed or country, but for debt and, as was said, dishonesty, incurred a like sentence. He was even accused of being the abettor of heresy.

There was one act, however, connected with his name which deserved the gratitude of his successors. It was the foundation of an university in Dublin. The predecessor of Bicknor, John Lech, obtained the sanction of the Holy See to the project of an university. The Pope prefaced the bull by which he gave consent by saying, that to Ireland, cut off as it was by the sea from other centres of education, a national university would be most desirable; and that there was the less difficulty in founding one, as many doctors of divinity were to be found in Ireland. All his Holiness required was that the consent and co-operation of the suffragan bishops should be obtained.* Wisely did he point to the necessity of getting the sympathy of the suffragans. But it would have been well if the hearty co-operation of all bishops and archbishops in Ireland were secured. That large co-operation was not asked nor given; and the result was that the university had only a brief existence. During the lifetime, however, of John Lech, who got the sanction of Rome to the undertaking, no effective step was taken. One thing or another occurred which proved an obstacle to the undertaking. But in the year 1320, Alexander Bicknor obtained the encouragement and renewed sanction

* Alan's *Registry*.

of John XXII. The Archbishop of Dublin drew up a code of laws. It ran thus :—

"In the name of God. Amen. We, Alexander Bicknor, by the divine permission Archbishop of Dublin, do will and grant and ordain, with the consent of our Chapter of the Blessed Trinity, and of St. Patrick in Dublin, to the master and scholars of the University, that the masters regent of the University may elect a chancellor, a doctor of divinity or of the common law. So that if either of our churches of the Blessed Trinity or of St. Patrick, in the said place, may have obtained that degree in either of said faculties, he shall by the same person be chosen chancellor before all others. And if, which God forbid, any division happen on the election, that then the election be carried by the votes of the greater number. Upon the resignation or decease of the chancellor of the said University, another shall be elected within fifteen days, and shall be presented to us or our successors, or, in our absence, to our vicars; and in the vacancy of the sees, to the guardian of the spiritualities to obtain confirmation. Moreover, we ordain that two proctors actually regent, when there are many regent masters, be elected in like manner as aforesaid. And that the said proctors, when the University is without a chancellor, shall supply his place. And if the election of chancellor be not made within fifteen days, then the jurisdiction shall devolve on the official of the court of Dublin, the see being full; or, on the vacancy of the see, to the guardian of spiritualities it shall devolve till the chancellor be elected and confirmed. We grant likewise that the chancellor shall have spiritual jurisdiction over the masters and scholars, when they are plaintiff and defendant, and over the servants, and shall have approbation and reprobation

of the will and testaments of the masters and scholars and of their estates. However, the fines and mulcts imposed for delinquencies, and the profits arising from them or from any other cause, shall be laid up in a chest to be converted to the common benefit of the University, according to the disposition of the chancellor and masters; and that the proctors shall have two keys of the chest; and a third key will be in the keeping of some other whom the chancellor shall name; and the proctors shall twice a year give an account to the chancellor, or to the regent masters, or to their deputy.

"And if the said chancellor shall think fit to substitute any person or persons in his office, we give him power by these presents; and if appeal be made from such his commissioner, it shall be first made to said chancellor and regents who shall by themselves or others take cognizance of the cause; and if appeal be made a second time it shall be to us or the official of the court. Moreover, bachelors that are to be made in whatever faculty shall be presented to the said chancellor and regent masters.* Moreover, bachelors to be licensed in any faculty shall be presented to the said chancellor and regent masters; and if they procure a sufficient number of masters of the said faculty, according to the time to be by them appointed to swear to their learning, and others of other faculties to swear to their morals, according to their belief, they then shall pass as licentiates, notwithstanding any opposition made by the minority of the masters—otherwise they shall be passed by grace of the University. And if a person objects any matter against one to be offered to be licensed in any faculty, and fails to support his charge

* Ware's *Antiq.* p. 38.

in form of law, he shall be deemed a malicious accuser; and on refusal to pay damages and costs to the injured party, he shall be deprived of the privileges of the University for a time, or shall be for ever expelled, as the chancellors and regents shall think proper: regard being had notwithstanding to the nature of the charge preferred, and to the condition of both parties. We grant also for us and our successors that the chancellor, by the advice of the regent and non-regent masters, if there be necessity for it, may frame laws for the honour and peace of the University, and for the removal of scandal that may creep in at a long run, but that such statutes be presented to us and our successors for confirmation. We will also that we and our successors may appoint a secular regent in divinity, or one of what order of religion we please,* who for ever in time to come may actually read lectures on the Holy Scriptures in our Church of St. Patrick, without challenge or contradiction from any person whatsoever; and that in the absence of us, or our successors, in foreign parts, the chancellor may do this in room of us or our successors; notwithstanding that we have already denied the schools of the friars minors and preachers to be canonical. And we further ordain that the chancellor to be elected and to be presented to us or our successors for confirmation shall take the oath of fealty to us and to our successors."

* How very foolishly Mr. Moore, more, indeed, as the poet than the historian (see *History of Ireland*), says that the great liberality was displayed in these instructions. Because not understanding the very alphabet of ecclesiastical language, he means "by any order of religion," latitudinarism rather than a person of any religious order, whether Dominican, Franciscan &c. Here, too, we learn that the Holy Scriptures were not kept a sealed book from the people.

By virtue of these concessions, and the sanction of Rome, three doctors of divinity were accordingly appointed. They were William Hardite, Henry Cogry, and Edmund Bernardine. William Rodiant, Archdeacon of Dublin, was appointed doctor of the Canon Law. However, the university, because not supported by the clergy and people of the land, did not prosper. Before full thirty years had gone by it was already on the decline.* Not long after, in the year 1358, Edward III. gave further encouragement to the institution.† An additional divinity lecture was introduced. To the students and to their servants, during their abode there, and in going to and returning from the university, every protection was afforded. Safely and gratuitously were their goods and luggage cared for and removed. Notwithstanding this patronage the university fell away. And though we find some signs of life in it, or rather an effort made to restore it, in the reign of Henry VII., yet a few years afterwards it completely died out. For we find that in a provincial synod held in Christ's Church, in Dublin, by Walter Fitzsimons, annual pensions were granted for seven years to the lecturers of the university. The archbishop and his chapters

* John Clyn, who probably died in 1348, speaking of it says: "It is an university in name; would that I could call it so in reality."

† In 1358, clerks begged of Edward III. protection in going to Dublin. They stated that they could not go to Oxford on account of their poverty and the dangers of the journey. He listened to their petition—he said a study of the sort was held in Dublin; the Sacred Scriptures were explained there. On that account he calculated "that the listeners would be withdrawn from vice; that they would the more easily be urged to good morals; and that the peace of the country would be more effectually maintained."—*Rot. Pat.* 32, Ed. III.

"In 1375, two Franciscans, from Ennis, were sent at the charge of the convent to Strasburg. The Dublin University by this time must appear to have failed in its mission."—Pembridge.

and the clergy contributed £10; the Bishop of Ossory and his clergy contributed £5; the Bishop of Ferns and his clergy gave £5; the Bishop of Leighlin and his clergy gave five marks; and the Bishop of Kildare and his clergy gave five marks. Thus we see an effort was made to keep alive the university, and it is no less certain that it died out. In a parliament held at Drogheda, in the year 1465, a statute was passed for the foundation of an university. The reason assigned for this step was that there was no other in Ireland. The Duke of Clarence was Lord Lieutenant. His deputy was the Earl of Desmond. The statute of foundation ran thus:—"Likewise at the request of the Commons, because there is no university or general study in Ireland, which is a work that would advance knowledge, riches, and *good government*, and also prevent riot, ill-government, and extortion in the said land—it is ordained and established and confirmed, by authority of Parliament, that there be an university in the town of Drogheda, wherein there may be made bachelors, masters, and doctors in every science and faculty in like manner as in the University of Oxford, which may also have, occupy, and enjoy all manner of liberties, privileges, laws, and laudable customs that the said University of Oxford doth occupy or enjoy; so that it be not prejudicial to the mayor, sheriffs, or commonalty of the said town of Drogheda."* But because intended merely for a province, and founded not on the high principle of education and broad basis of popular affection but for selfish purposes, even this university soon fell away. The Government, which for its own ends took an interest in the university, did not support it. The people for whom it should have existed took no interest in it.

* Ware's *Antiq.* ch. xv.

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